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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays on teacher centers reports the thinking of teachers' centers participants and leaders as they endeavor to improve, sustain, and extend their programs. While the function of teacher centers is, in a broad sense, to encourage teachers to continue to grow in their profession and remain open to new educational innovations, these essays enlarge on this theme with personal approaches to basic problems commonly faced by teachers. The value of sharing ideas and experiences with others in the same profession is underscored in this collection. The effect of teachers' centers in increasing self-esteem, confidence, and willingness to seek and share advice emerges as one of their major contributions to improving teacher performance. (JD)

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ESSAYS ON TEACHERS' CENTERS

edited by
Kathleen Devaney

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ELIZABETH KELLOGG

ESSAYS ON TEACHERS' CENTERS

edited by
Kathleen Devaney

TEACHERS' CENTERS EXCHANGE
Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development
1855 Folsom Street, San Francisco, California 94103

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PREFACE

One meaning of the noun "essay" is "an attempt, endeavor, a testing or trial of the value or nature of a thing." *Essays on Teachers' Centers*, the title of this book, thus can and should be construed in two ways: generally, as a collection of short compositions around the topic of teachers' centers; and specifically, as writings about a stage in the development of teachers' centers which is characterized by endeavors and trials rather than by products and models.

A previous book, *Exploring Teachers' Centers* (June 1975), recorded findings and impressions about the beginnings of teachers' centers in this country. As a sequel to *Exploring*, this book of essays reports the thinking of teachers' centers participants and leaders as they endeavor to improve, sustain, and extend their programs. A companion book, *Teachers' Centers Exchange Directory*, contains factual information and descriptions of some 78 American teachers' centers with whom we at the Teachers' Centers Exchange are in communication.

The essays printed here have been gathered from friends who work in or close to teachers' centers. They present ideas which I consider interesting, instructive, and thought provoking both for people unfamiliar with teachers' centers and for those with long experience in centers. The collection falls into two general categories: those dealing with the premises which teachers' centers stem from and exemplify (Apelman, O'Brien, Fibkins, Katz, and Feiman), and commentaries about teachers' center experience (Taylor, McLaughlin, Manolakes, Mai, Sproul). The latter three are explanations of the work of the teaching advisor, a role which appears to be fundamentally different from other supervisory jobs in the public education system and one which I believe may be essential in any serious effort to induce teachers to renew their learning and cope with changed school populations, settings, and mandates.

Material for my own essay, "Warmth, Concreteness, Time, and Thought in Teachers' Learning," is distilled from a year's collection (February 1976-February 1977) of my notes of conversations with leaders and participants in centers. Thus, this piece is the statement of many *essayers* who encountered me, my pencil and notebook at the ready: Penny Buchanan, Amity Buxton, Sharon Feiman, Bob Anderson, Pat Budde, Gordon Hill, Emily Richard, Marie D'Amico, Gail Johnston, Stan Cohen, Joan Bradbury, Ed Yeomans, Debbie Meier, Kenneth Goodman, Bernard Spodek, Bob Mai, Cele Cummiskey, and others whose names I did not note. I have many more notes and

quotes than I could incorporate into a single essay, and I owe thanks to many more people who have contributed ideas. The selection of quotations, interpretation, and contextual commentary is mine, and I take responsibility for errors of fact, inference, or opinion.

Any attempt to describe the practical, playful, down-to-earth, ingenious, serendipitous, reciprocal learning and teaching programs that occur in teachers' centers must rely on photographs, not just for illustration but for explanation. Thus I am grateful to photographers Betty Kellogg, Stan Chu, Lora Haus, John Urban, Ed Sarmento, and Keith Alward; and to the teachers' centers whose work their photographs portray: respectively, Mountain View Center for Environmental Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder; Workshop Center for Open Education at City College of New York; Philadelphia Advisory Center; Greater Boston Teachers Center; Oakland, California, Teacher Shelter; Teacher Curriculum Work Center and Education Resource Center, Chicago; and Boston Children's Museum.

In putting together this book I have gratefully taken my own share of warmth, concreteness, time, and thought from my co-worker Lorraine Keeney and from our sponsors at the National Institute of Education, Mary Harahan and Marc Tucker.

I am grateful to the production team, whose work in assembling the book has brought rewards in companionship, enjoyment, and mutual accomplishment: Ruth Kreitzman, Jeanne Lance, Stephen Hart, copy editing; Bret Rohmer, design; Barbara Piper, Bruce Varnado, typing; Jean Sims, Wilt Martin, Chet Tanaka, coordination.

I would also like to acknowledge and thank our Teachers' Centers Exchange Advisory Committee: Anne Bussis, Early Education Research Group, Educational Testing Service; Kathleen Hurty, teacher, Oakland School District and member of advisory group, Oakland Teacher Shelter; Diane Lassman, Director, Southeast Minnesota Facilitator Project, National Dissemination Network, Minneapolis/University of Minnesota Teacher Center; Allen Parker, Technical Education Research Centers, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts; Vito Perrone, Dean, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota; Ernestine Rouse, Coordinator, Teacher Corps and Associate Professor in Education, Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pennsylvania; Mary Harahan, Head, Networking, School Capacity for Problem Solving Group, National Institute of Education; Paul Nachtigal, Ford Foundation, Denver; Harold Snedcof, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York.

—— *Kathleen Devaney*
San Francisco
May 1977

ABOUT THE TEACHERS' CENTERS EXCHANGE

Give-and-take about teachers' centers is the aim of a project we began in fall 1975 and call an "exchange." Here's what we are doing:

- Finding answers for educators' (and laymen's) questions about teachers' centers and similar forms of staff development: telling about program and policy in experienced centers, referring inquirers to center leaders, making matches among people whom we perceive to hold common purposes, feel similar needs.
- Spotlighting and circulating information, ideas, and themes: curriculum materials, reports, research and position papers from teachers' centers; writing descriptions of centers, case studies, articles, bibliographies. We will circulate information to those who have expressed a particular focus or problem.
- Arranging for meetings among teachers' centers people and those who wish to learn about, with, and from them; facilitating visits to centers. We are also exploring the use of joint study projects, participation in institutes, and consultancies as ways to spread the word and practice of teachers' centers.

This work is supported by the National Institute of Education (School Capacity for Problem Solving Group) and by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, in order to strengthen the existing spontaneous information exchanges among locally initiated teachers' centers, and to extend their communications to other educators exploring alternative forms of inservice. We are less than a technical assistance agency, because the expertise about teachers' centers is dispersed around the national "network" of experienced centers. However, we are more than a clearinghouse, for we aim to extend the present network by putting people in personal touch with others of like premises, purposes, and problems. So, another purpose of our work is to investigate interactive networking as a means of disseminating education innovations—to find out whether an informal network can be stimulated, strengthened, and stretched, all the while retaining its qualities of voluntarism, mutuality, trust, and easy access to the dispersed centers of action.

Easy access and volunteered sharing in a network seem to depend on members holding some common beliefs and goals. So, while we're aware of many different structures and programs in teachers' centers, our aim to gain (and assess) experience within an interactive network leads us to focus on that subgroup of well-developed and just-beginning centers which share common premises and purposes. A shared premise is:

Teachers must be more than technicians, must continue to be learners. Long-lasting improvements in education will come through inservice programs that identify individual starting points for learning in each teacher; build on teachers' motivation to take more, not less, responsibility for curriculum and instruction decisions in the school and the classroom; and welcome teachers to participate in the design of professional development programs.

And, amidst rich variation in programming, setting, style, and structure, we find common **purposes** among this network of centers:

- To **respond** to teachers' own definitions of their continuing learning needs with assistance and instruction that helps teachers enrich and activate the learning experience of the children in their own classrooms.
- To **provide an environment** where teachers may come to work on materials or projects for their classrooms, receive instruction individually and together, and teach and encourage each other.
- To **advise and assist** teachers in their schools, working in the spirit of finding the teacher's own starting points for improvement.

We want to reach others who share such premises and purposes for staff development and who would value interacting in a network. We invite your inquiries, and your news, opinions, and ideas. Our grist is not just the facts of life in teachers' centers (program, participation, decision making, finance) but also such issues as projecting differing goals for schooling, rearranging patterns of teacher preparation and certification, involving teachers in new curriculum development, helping teachers to influence curriculum and instruction decisions within school districts.

We will appreciate news of other teachers' centers and inservice and curriculum development networks, notices of meetings, conferences, publications, media, and other communications of interest to teachers' centers.

ELIZABETH KELLOGG.

WARMTH, CONCRETENESS, TIME, AND THOUGHT IN TEACHERS' LEARNING*

by Kathleen Devaney

Kathleen Devaney is director of the Teachers' Centers Exchange, based in the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco. She has worked as an education writer and program administrator for the Laboratory and for the University of California, Berkeley.

When the Congress enacted and the President signed the Education Amendments of 1976 (Public Law 94-482) last fall, they authorized as much as $[illegible] million a year for three years for "teachers centers," which they defined as local school-district sponsored "sites" where working teachers could pursue professional improvement directly related to their own classrooms, and where the improvement program would be overseen by a "policy board" composed of teachers in the majority, with a little help from administrators, professors, and the school board.

*This essay has also been published as an occasional paper under the title "Surveying Teachers' Centers: From Grassroots Beginnings to Possibility of Federal Support" (San Francisco: Teachers' Centers Exchange, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, April 1977).

By the fall of 1977 the intent and potential of this legislation will have been spelled out, first in terms of the dollars Congress actually appropriates and then in terms of the program the U.S. Office of Education designs. During this official definition process, it seems important to trace origins and identify colloquial meanings attached to the term teacher center, lest its root, sense, and feeling be uncomprehended in the clamor for federal funds.

Over the past ten years a nationwide group of American educators has developed the idea of a small, informal, sometimes independent, sometimes district- or university-sponsored *work place* where elementary teachers come, on their own initiative, to work on curriculum for their own classrooms. They work with the help of practical-minded professors or master teachers and with each other, largely in the spirit of colleagues exchanging rather than experts training.

About 100 entities across the country loosely fit this definition. I dub them "teachers' centers," emphasizing the possessive in order to connote largely voluntary (though often on school-district released time) self-programming by teachers as they seek what they need and share what they do well. In the following pages I will detail some of the origins, aspects and attributes of teachers' centers which, in the minds of those who run them and teachers who use them, set these centers apart from—and make them better than—conventional inservice programs. Then I will touch on challenges that the federal program presents to the grassroots-evolved teachers' centers. Finally, I will suggest some problems and principles derived from teachers' centers' experience that may be instructive for persons concerned with the design of program and policy for new teachers' centers to be funded by the federal government.

What Goes On in a Teachers' Center

But first, what does a teachers' center look like? What goes on there? A typical teachers' center does not exist, because each center embodies unique resources, and attempts to fulfill unique needs. Some centers serve whole school districts, a few serve several districts, others just one school zone or one building. Some centers charge fees or sell memberships, some have federal categorical funding, many are built at least partially into school district budgets. Some centers are general in subject matter focus, some concentrate on a single subject such as math. Some are characterized less by their place than by their staff—advisors or resource teachers who work in a nonsupervisory style at a teacher's request to enrich classroom curriculum or instructional repertoire. A composite center might be sketched as follows:

Origin: Started in 1970 in a subdistrict of a big city in its first year of desegregation to help teachers in ten elementary schools revise and invent curriculum appropriate for minority group children.

Setting: Several classrooms of an old school closed as a fire trap.

Facilities: Workroom for teachers to copy individualized lesson cards and learning games from displays of curriculum ideas that have worked for other teachers; carpentry shop where teachers learn to make their own math and science "concrete-manipulative" materials, and to construct wood or triwall cardboard bookshelves, cubbies, workbenches for children in informal classrooms; plants and small animals in habitats to take into the classroom; darkroom for developing teachers' and children's photographs; potter's wheel, clay, and kiln; kitchen and lounge, furnished with hand-me-downs, for teachers' informal talk, organized discussion or seminar, and counseling with staff; library of adults' and children's books, curriculum materials; and storeroom of industrial scrounge materials, selected by an educator for their potential educational uses.

Program: Workshops presenting science, math, crafts, cooking, reading, social studies, art, music, drama and other elementary curriculum in a style that maximizes active, hands-on participation by teachers; allows them to learn new concepts at their own, adult level; and to experience again how it feels to tackle new learning. (African and Hispanic cultural patterns, arts, and artifacts are emphasized in many of these workshops, and teachers make materials to take to their own classrooms.) Seminars initiated by teachers on classroom management; on ways that children's thinking differs from that of adults.

Staff: Two full-time and three part-time master teachers. One full-time and one part-time secretary. Occasional consultants (including teachers acting as workshop instructors). Director is a former professor of early childhood education involved in "active-learning, discovery" curriculum development projects. Besides teaching workshops and providing informal counseling in the center, staff members work as "advisors" in classrooms of participants who ask them to assist. They make repeated visits over an extended period and give critical but non-official evaluation of the teacher's work in a troublesome subject area or with particular children. Advisors "model" a different way to teach difficult kids; suggest more appropriate or varied curriculum materials; help rearrange the classroom—all the while

providing constructive criticism about a teacher's felt inadequacy, which the teacher can accept because it comes from a trusted co-worker, not an evaluative supervisor.

Decision Making: Advisory board of teachers, one from each building served, helps voice teachers' needs to the center's staff. The board suggests programs, and recruits teachers to the center. A member of the advisory board wrote her first impression: "My God! Teachers actually in charge!" and her analysis of the board's duties: "To explore our roles as teachers, to take responsibility for improving the quality of teaching, to raise the consciousness of the staff of the schools. . . ."

Participation: Free and voluntary. Teachers come after school and on Saturdays on their own time, as well as during minimum days. Courses for credit—such as a semester seminar on Piaget psychology—carry a fee. About half the elementary teachers in the school zone use the center several times a year and rally to support it before the board of education every year at budget time. Work in the center is accepted for salary advancement credit. The staff energetically promotes use of the center by principals with whole faculties, curriculum task forces, Title program staff trainers.

Finance: Established with foundation funds which have now expired, the center is "institutionalized" but always vulnerable to budget cuts. Up to now the center has been rescued by parents' and teachers' politicking. There have never been funds for an objective evaluation of the center's effects on teachers.

How A Teachers' Center Is Different from Inservice and Extension

No single description will fit even two centers, but all centers share elements in common, and all differ from conventional school district or university inservice and from familiar notions of curriculum resource-media centers. In the words of several directors of teachers' centers:

> We provide *continuity* of space and time, and a staff available to a teacher to work on an *individualized* problem, either in the teacher's school or in a separate place.

> The grad courses at the university are geared to advancing the teacher *out* of the classroom—becoming a reading specialist or "learning disabilities" specialist, or some sort of administrator. Teachers' centers are dedicated to helping teachers

stay *in* the classroom and experience their work as important, stimulating, less fragmented, and less isolated. Instead of emphasizing specialities and separateness we try to nurture a whole approach toward teaching and help teachers collaborate with each other.

We try to design a learning program for teachers that is non-threatening, responsive, supportive but yet identifies *major* areas of concentration for the learning of the children in those teachers' classrooms. Without such concentration inservice is trivial: a few days a year; tips to brighten your classroom; 50 tricky treats to make on Halloween for all ethnic groups. It is unfortunate that in this country the problems in children's learning are not valued as matters for sustained adult effort, but are defined as matters requiring a quick delivery of "skills." A professional has to be able to identify with a serious, sustained endeavor. *A teachers' center defines the study of children's learning as a serious, professional endeavor.*

Tomes have been written about inservice education, but one rarely finds in them emphasis on the necessity for teachers to study children's learning. Far from endeavoring to uplift the scholarly or professional quality of teachers' work, most inservice reform claims to make teaching a more precise technology for "delivering skills" to students. At the peril of treating teachers like interchangeable functionaries on assembly lines, "training systems" try to "renew" teachers by delivering to them bundles of skills or modules of training, in the manner in which teachers are to deliver skills to students. It is odd that teachers' work should be cast in terms that seem more appropriate to salesmen or teamsters. Yet the delivery system metaphor for teachers' continuing education pervades educational journals, dialogue, and policy formulations. Perhaps this is a measure of the still ambiguous status of public school teaching in America—somewhere between a skilled trade and a profession.

In this state of affairs, leaders of teachers' centers—who are convinced of the seriousness and complexity of the teacher's job—have come to view teachers' center participants as careerists in search of a profession. Public school teaching today can inspire, if not demand, a professional rather than merely technical bent of mind and level of performance—at least in those American schools which manage to avoid or survive the twin mind destroyers, violence and ennui. But the college preparation of the average teacher has not induced the depth of thought, the sureness of touch, the smooth mesh of theory with technique that are associated with professionalism. And the on-the-job learning undergone by that average teacher is inconsistent: in some ways, places, and times, the job is challengingly responsible, in others demeaningly menial. Nor do the external rewards of salary raises and promo-

tions place priority on intellectual qualities or inventiveness. Nevertheless, teachers who persist in the job and seek inner rewards from their work increasingly desire professionalism as well as the knowledge of serving. For them, training systems, however efficient and necessary for implementing broad scale, minimum level performance by whole staffs, are not personal enough, and college programs are not practical enough, to nourish growth. Teachers' centers come into existence to advocate and provide for professional growth based on the personality of the teacher and the reality of the classroom. Their programs are modest, pragmatic, sometimes makeshift, but nonetheless serious.

What Teachers Need

Teachers who talk about the value of a teachers' center express a need to "come in out of the cold"—the isolation, frustration, fear of supervisors' or co-workers' censure, and their own more chilling perception of failing to teach kids. They crave *warmth*. Teachers using teachers' centers say they need more local, practical, and profound lessons to use in the classroom, lessons connected to students' lives (not just future jobs); they demand *concreteness* and *connection*. And teachers in teachers' centers aspire to a self-aware, self-correcting, self-reflective kind of teaching: they need *time* for *thought*.

Warmth

> There is a feeling of warmth here, a feeling of companionship, of play. What teachers' centers have going for them is that there's no failure really. It's not a win-lose kind of environment.

Laymen dismiss or misread teachers' expressions of discouragement, stress, even anger, because we don't perceive that a major source of such feelings lies in the structure of the job itself. The American teacher's role was fashioned during the past 100 years to fit a work place in which students in one class stood at reasonably equal levels of achievement and had mastered one consistent style of learning, so that the teacher up front at the blackboard could "deliver" one prepackaged textbook lesson to the whole class. In the past 20 years, laws and coincident developments in American social institutions—home, church, mass media, business—have drastically changed society's demands upon the schools and thus have radically changed many public schools as work places. The teacher role which most laymen are familiar with from their own schooling is functional now only in those classes which are able

to preserve or return to "homogeneous grouping." In those schools where such instruction is not possible, teachers may feel unsupported and ill-equipped to do the job society expects. Daily stress may make them inept, defensive, drained. In such conditions, teachers' centers set their first priority as reducing failure and infusing psychic and intellectual energy.

> It's a place you come to bounce ideas off people who are here. They're doing the same thing with you. You came kind of taking but all of a sudden you are giving. That has got to be one of the most important things going as far as teachers are concerned.

Concreteness and Connection

In their ongoing emphasis on "concrete" curriculum materials, teachers' centers hark back to the voices in the curriculum development movement of the '60s who called for hands-on, "real-life," lesson material with which to teach the 3 R's, science, and social studies. These materials, easily adaptable to students of differing achievement levels, could be used with heterogeneous as well as homogeneous groups of students. Many teachers' centers are led by first-or second-generation leaders of those curriculum projects. These people still concentrate on inventing or adapting curriculum materials *with* teachers, and helping teachers make use of the potent learning experiences in nature, homes, and communities. In the teachers' centers' perspective, the curriculum development task is never-ending and must be teacher-involving, especially where there are schools operating under social mandates for desegregation, "mainstreaming" mentally retarded into regular classrooms, or other forms of mixed-ability grouping. Such mandates create a multiplicity of learning backgrounds and styles among students, which in turn demand that a teacher continually collect, adapt, or concoct new curriculum materials to fit particular children and to help children understand and value each other. Curriculum development for such classrooms must go hand in hand with in-service, and neither can properly be conceived only in terms of rejuvenative shots from experts.

It would be silly to maintain that all teachers are eager, self-renewing students of their profession and practiced inventors of custom-made curriculum. But the vast lot of teachers want to do their job better, and they understand that a successful lesson is not simply an expert's packet of subject matter, but a blend of subject matter, the student's learning status and style, and the teacher's teaching style. Teachers' centers show that it is not visionary to expect ordinary teachers to work hard and voluntarily, provided they can get help in revamping their own curriculum.

The basic stock in trade in many teachers' centers is a "make-it-and-take-it" workshop: teachers construct in the center some new child-appealing lesson and take it back to their classrooms.

A make-and-take workshop can be gimmicky, but it also can be real. And it's a start for teachers who have never had a hand in their own curriculum. Going along with the making, there needs to be a lot of critical discussion, but in the context of something that's real to teachers. Curriculum materials are a way of communicating with kids, and so also of communicating with teachers.

Communicating over curriculum—literally choosing, adapting, or developing materials—is a way of "diagnosing" what teachers need. It is more accurate than a generalized "needs assessment" instrument.

People who design inservice have to do more than run a "needs analysis." If a teacher seeks a new resource, the teacher-of-teachers has to observe what *level* the teacher is seeking to develop: awareness or competence? I observe that experienced teachers are saturated on the awareness level. There is a constant flooding of teachers with workshops plugging neat ideas and neat activities. What's lacking is the *context* for that activity, the connection of that teaching-learning act to the teacher's real world. Making that connection requires working with teachers at a level deeper than surface activity. . .

When a teacher has a question or a problem and *has formulated it*, then there's a place for outside information and ideas. Until then she's inundated with information she can't hook up with anything she's familiar with. One instance or episode is *not* a problem. Part of the professionalization has to be teachers clarifying for themselves *what the problem is*.

Time and Thought

Flooding teachers with information is the flaw in a curriculum materials resource center which is no more than a storehouse of the "validated products" from which teachers can select new goodies. What teachers need is supportive, constructively critical help in importing new ideas to their own classrooms. This almost always involves some adaptation or even substantial reinvention of the curriculum materials. "Innovation" and "individualization" take time to rethink the students' needs, the subject-matter content, and the teacher's capability.

If I am, in fact, going to select appropriate pieces of curriculum to fit my own students, my basic need is to have a variety of resource people whose practical

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> experience I can respect, and the ability to use one of those people not in a one-shot workshop, but over time, in as much depth as I am ready for. It takes more than two days or a weekend or a month to put together curriculum. You have to use resources, reflect upon what happens then with kids, and go back and revamp what you're doing.

> Teachers' centers – or any staff development – must eventually take teachers to a state of development where they see the teaching act itself as a source of knowledge. After a teacher has done these 472 activities, how does she abstract the key to them so she can create or adapt her own activities? If she doesn't get a theory she has to have 472 new activities. If you're going to be a teaching professional you have to learn to extend, modify, reconstruct, and create your own activities.

Ingredients of Successful Innovations

Teachers' centers' experience over the past five to seven years has been so varied that it cannot be said to constitute a full-fledged model for a new form of inservice. Not all centers have been able to step beyond the stage of offering warmth and concreteness. In no case has funding been sufficient or sustained enough to mount a thoroughgoing evaluation of the effects on teachers of a program combining warmth, concreteness, and thoughtfulness over time. Very few centers have had substantial experience with secondary teachers. The compelling evidence about teachers' centers thus is not where they have gotten to – hard data about effects on teachers; but rather where they are coming from – the opposite direction from conventional inservice, which teachers deride even under its new moniker of "staff development."

> "Staff development!" That's a dirty word. If it weren't mandated we wouldn't do it, and when they pull the funding it's gonna go.

Why does it so often happen that "when they pull the funding" the imported innovation disappears? Because teachers can't learn or don't care? The Rand Corporation says no. Looking at the difference between federal change agent projects that have disappeared and those that have lasted, Rand investigators found common ingredients of successful projects that seem very close to the ingredients of teachers' centers. The successful change projects incorporated a stance of support for teachers that lowered their defensiveness against change. The successful projects emphasized local invention rather than implementation of "validated products" or "planned interventions." From "day one," these projects were planned with teachers as collaborators

rather than targets. Highly committed, energetic, local leaders were involved rather than outside experts. The successful innovations were not simple, but complex and demanding and possessed intellectual-philosophical coherence.[1]

The one ingredient of the successful change agent projects which Rand stipulates but which many teachers' centers do not yet exemplify is "critical mass"—a sufficient body of participants to make an impact on a school district and gain momentum. To gain participants sufficient to constitute critical mass is a basic goal for most experienced teachers' centers now, even though it is extremely difficult to serve greater numbers when budget cuts have depleted center staffs. Thus they look with hope to the new federal teacher center legislation.

Opportunity in the Teacher Center Law

If the legislation is an opportunity for teachers' centers, it is prerequisitely a challenge to them to collaborate with local school administrations.

> The major issue is: how can the teacher-involving, teacher-supporting, teacher-stretching centers relate to the local education agency and yet keep their integrity? A teachers' center staff that's outside the district can build up a high trust level with teachers, but the staff's influence within the system is the crux of how well most teachers can perform back in the classroom. The teachers' center has to be more than a place to come and get turned on by innovative materials. It must have some mechanisms for reaching the structure and the policies of the school system.

Collaboration with the school district means devising decision-making structures which are mutual but which preserve the program's independence and thus the credibility of the teachers' center staff with rank-and-file teachers. Joint policy making and the search for stronger incentives for teachers to participate will entail initiating or strengthening relationships with principals and other supervisory and planning staff in the district, and encouraging them to use the center as a resource for district-sponsored improvement projects. However, such collaboration cannot be at the risk of destroying the center's status as a place where it's safe for teachers to admit inadequacy and to experiment without fear of being evaluated.

Greater than the opportunity the law offers to a relatively small number of experienced teachers' centers who represent an alternative to conventional in-

[1] Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. IV: The Findings in Review*, R-1589/4-HEW (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, April 1975).

service, is the challenge the law presents to inservice educators in school districts and colleges of education and to teacher associations determined to direct their members' inservice. Can they, as the law seems to allow and intend, rethink conventional inservice formats, program substance, needs assessment, incentives to teachers, and administration of program?

Teacher-Dominated Boards

The law's provision for teachers to be in the majority on a center's supervisory board appears to constitute requirement that the teacher center should be independent from the line organization of the school district. However, something more is needed than a majority of properly representative and properly designated teachers acting independently. They must act wisely. What is learned in a teachers' center—as distinguished from what is taught—is largely controlled by what the participant teachers bring *to* the center. They bring their own time, ingenuity, perseverance; their teaching successes to build on and share; their willingness to risk learning something new and to pinpoint areas for individual improvement. Teachers who evidence previous investment of this kind in their own professional growth or local curriculum development are needed on the supervisory board, as well as in the group that initiates the funding proposal and plans the center program. Only that depth of experience can both generate an innovative program and verify its relevance to co-workers. And putting the teachers in charge of the center program will not greatly help if all the other curriculum and instruction aspects of the school system remain outside the center's influence.

Incentives

Guaranteeing the new program's appeal is another policy matter. The clear intent of the law is to spur greatly increased numbers of teachers to renew their education. Yet this must be done without coercing and thus squelching the self-motivated. Teachers' center experience attests that teachers will volunteer for new study and extra work if they are convinced that these will improve their ability to reach their own students with a solid lesson, and if they feel that they are not working alone. Teachers' intrinsic aspirations for collegiality and professionalism are hidden resources that can be tapped. Yet, almost every discussion of teachers' centers as a model for federally supported inservice evokes a challenge as to what a center can do about "all those others": rank-and-file teachers whom the challenger characterizes as unwilling to improve.

Several incentives to such teachers need to materialize during the process of applying for and setting up a new teacher center: the central administration's clear message of priority for a new kind of inservice; teachers' obvious participation in program design; supervisory evaluators' deliberate separation from the learning process in the center.

Another elementary step to increase teachers' participation in a center without mandating it is to grant salary increment credits for center-based workshop series, supervised independent study in the center, participation in curriculum task forces, etc. Some states and school districts are examining their present schedules for granting salary increments (and some have changed credential renewal requirements) so as to reward only those courses and activities directly related to current or anticipated job responsibilities involving students, and to reward longevity only if it is accompanied by proof of continuing professional study.

The incentive that most observers believe is stronger than salary advancement credit—especially in districts where many teachers are already high on the scale—is the provision for participation in the center during the school day. Study on released time can be targeted to the teacher's job, can take place at a time of day when teachers are not exhausted from teaching, and can provide a morale-lifting change of pace and pooling of group energy on a mutual problem. Now that local school district policy making is in flux, through diminishing funds, changing teacher roles, and new educational goals demanding fresh thinking and new rules making, it may be propitious to structure the new federal teacher center program so as to stimulate states and school districts to support teachers' work in the teacher center during school time.

Needs Assessment

Another policy matter implicit in the federal teacher center law is deciding what the center should teach. The curriculum in the center must be worthy of the tax dollars invested in it. What do teachers need to learn in order to provide what kids need to learn? By and large, teachers' centers people believe it is simple to discover teachers' needs—but it takes time and close acquaintance. Most teachers know where they are inadequate and would acknowledge it and ask for assistance, if they were able to get help in a setting in which it was safe to admit weakness, in which the teacher was not prematurely evaluated, and in which time was not wasted on trivia. Comprehensive, technologically sophisticated needs assessment questionnaires seldom turn up new topics that could not be generated just as well by principals, resource teachers and con-

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sultants, teacher advisory groups, and by center staff's sensitivity to their participants and to which programs succeed and which flop. The essence of the teachers' center's alternative style and setting for teachers' learning is in convincing the learner of his potential and responsibility for growth. Thus center leaders keep eyes open for what teachers *can* do, and how that can be built upon to strengthen points of inadequacy.

The crucial element is not a diagnosis of deficiencies, for we have been identifying those for years and producing barrels of curriculum remedies which have not "taken." What *is* crucial in teachers' learning is conviction of capacity, possibility.

> The key to opening people to change is attitude, not information and skills. I can distill into ten pages what I think a teacher needs [in order] to teach reading. But before that, teachers must get a set of basic attitudes—how language is viewed, how reading is viewed. Attitudes are the crucial foundation that makes it possible to assimilate new skills. This is a Piagetian process, gradually developing. And the worst thing that can happen in this process is for teachers to be put in the position of defending what they are doing against your new ideas. They must have time to come around to a new view.

Scale and Pace

Teachers' centers began slowly and on a small scale to experiment with a new mode for teachers' learning. But they had more than a new style; also a new strategy. They focused on the "reachables"—teachers who felt a sense of potential and who reached for change—and used their first successes to energize slower-to-kindle colleagues. If the first generation of teachers' center leaders could offer only one piece of advice to others starting new centers now, it would be: Begin right away, even on a limited basis, to *be* the change you want to make.

> You can't legislate it, you can't force it, you have to work toward it. I'm more inclined to the snowball than the avalanche.

Non-Bureaucratic Specifications and Objectives

A "snowball strategy" implies non-bureaucratic specifications for the organization of a teachers' center.

1. Flexible and fast in response to teachers' daily requests, the center must be non-hierarchical in staff organization. The leadership which designs the pro-

gram must be in day-to-day communication with individual rank-and-file teachers. Staff must be advisors, scouts for talent among teachers, brokers, and improvisers as well as instructors. A staff working so improvisationally should be in close communication with each other. Thus a small group—six to eight workshop instructors and advisors at maximum—may be more than a fiscal virtue; it may be a programmatic necessity. Limited size of staff, plus teachers' expectation of staff members' continuing, personalized assistance over an extended time, mean that the center may not be able to fulfill all the professional development needs of a large constituency of teachers. If it's comprehensive in program, then the center can serve only a limited constituency.

2. Defining its program offerings in terms of what participants give as well as what they take, the teachers' center must seek resources besides money. These include teachers' freely given time as well as district-paid released time; their volunteered advice and examples to fellow teachers as well as payment when they teach workshops.

3. Since the school district controls so many of the forces determining whether the teacher can apply what's learned in the center, teachers ought to be able to make common cause in a center with principals, curriculum supervisors, evaluators, parents. Therefore, eligibility for using the center should be broadly defined, and once there, participants' status should be equal.

4. If the center's purpose is to stimulate and support professional growth that stems from objective and earnest reflection about self-improvement, it has to set an example of thoughtful, careful growth. It can't spring full-fledged from the planners' agendas, and mature in a year. Assessment of its effectiveness will have to be in terms of verifying individual teachers' improvement in classroom performance over time, not simply counting contact hours nor attempting to connect students' achievement test scores with teachers' participation in the center.

If a new inservice program were to apply the teachers' center strategy, organization, and pedagogical style with some critical but not overwhelming mass of teachers, it could reasonably expect to make good on at least two of the following objectives:

1. Energize teachers to invest themselves in new ideas and effort in return for receiving nonjudgmental, practical but thought-provoking help, including colleagues' encouragement and exchanges.

2. Gain teachers' involvement in tailoring curriculum for their own classroom and students, using an expansive, beyond-the-classroom-walls definition of what are appropriate learning materials and experiences. Help teachers tie informal, student-appealing learning episodes to formal concepts and skills, so

that students' experience of the wider community and natural environment as part of schoolwork are at a thinking level deeper than show-and-tell.
3. Refresh and sustain teachers with a new and constructive "staff developer," called an advisor: a master teacher whom the teacher invites into the classroom, not to supervise or evaluate or implement a particular program but over a period of time to problem-solve, bring new ideas, demonstrate an alternative teaching style, provoke and extend the teachers' thought.
4. Transcend role boundaries so that principals, supervisors, and parents plan for instructional improvement along with teachers in a nonjudgmental collaborative environment.

These seem realizable goals in the light of the teachers' center experience I have sketched—given good luck in leadership and timing, good will among all parties, and the financial blessings of the federal teacher center law.

Nevertheless, we cannot be at all sure that the new law and the centers it supports will actually change the substance of inservice for the teachers who participate in them. Easier than changing substance will be amalgamating, articulating and sophisticating (and re-staffing and re-naming) the "delivery system" for inservice, and thereby greatly increasing numbers of teacher exposures to inservice lessons. It will be difficult, unpredictable, and time consuming—though not necessarily more expensive—to instill learning that is assimilated and activated in the teacher's classroom. The history of other grassroots innovations that, like teachers' centers, have been translated into federal policy, suggests that substantive change—"assimilable," "actionable" inservice—will be hard to come by unless the initiators of the new teacher centers set themselves a task that is more fundamental than designing a new delivery system. That task will be to invent an *ignition system*, and there to blend warmth, concreteness, time, and thought that spark teachers' learning.

STANLEY CHU

SOME GENERIC PRINCIPLES OF TEACHING*

by Lilian Katz

Lilian Katz is professor of Early Childhood Education and director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana. Presently her concern is staff development for college instructors of day-care and preschool personnel.

My hope in this paper is to share some ideas about the fundamentals of teaching as they apply to the education of teachers for early childhood programs. I'd like to characterize these ideas in terms of "principles." I have acquired the habit of calling them "principles": i.e. propositions which, although not always true seem sufficiently general to be useful for organizing information, making plans, evaluating and experimenting with diverse aspects of teaching. Interrelated in meaning, and intersecting in their referents, they constitute a set of generic principles of teaching.

Congruity

The first principle, to which the others are related, is that *the way we teach teachers should be congruent in many basic aspects to the way we want them to teach children.* At first glance this seems to be a restatement of the truism,

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"Practice what you preach." But the principle is not just to safeguard ourselves against being found hypocritical. We who teach teachers constitute a model for many of our learners, and the principle of congruity may serve to remind us to maximize the opportunities to teach by example. More important, there are some elements of teaching which are applicable to all teaching, whether of children in preschools or adults in teacher education. I have no intention of implying that teaching adult teachers is identical with teaching children—for example, that adults should perform the same tasks (finger painting, block building) as they may provide for children. The principles suggested here are those which apply to all teacher-learner encounters regardless of age or experience.

Knowing the Learner

We cannot teach anything important to someone we do not know. (The term "important" refers to our constructions of those aspects of reality that are central to our lives and our work: such as our explanations of the behavior of others, our identification of cause-and-effect relationships in events that matter to us, and our conceptions of those things about which we have relatively intense feelings.) Although this is not always true—we have all been taught by people who did not know us, e.g., a lecturer addressing a large group in which we were just one of the crowd, or a writer we have never met—it is likely, however, that successful teaching, even of large groups, is related to how well the lecturer or writer "knows" the audience.

This second generic principle of teaching presumes that a major function of a teacher, at every age or grade level, is to help the learner improve, refine, develop—in some way modify—his or her understanding of the concept, task, idea, or skill to be learned. In order to fulfill this function the teacher must uncover the extent of the learner's understanding of the task or concept to be learned. It is in this sense that the teacher must *know* the learner.

Every learner has an understanding of what is to be learned, but this understanding may be insufficient, incorrect, or inappropriate in some way. Most of us who are teachers fret over how much material we have to *cover*. Certainly, adequate coverage of many content areas presents persistent problems. But adequate *uncovering* of the learner's understanding will help us make better informed decisions about what material it is most appropriate to cover at a given time (Duckworth, 1972).

A related hypothesis is that the greater the informality in the learning situation, the greater the access the teacher has to relevant knowledge of the learner; and that the greater the teacher's knowledge of the learner's

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understanding, the greater the probability that the teacher will respond appropriately. Informality in classrooms has been a popular conference topic in early childhood education during the last few years. Its popularity, however, seems to be related more to ideological positions than to the pedagogical principle of knowing the learner. There probably is an optimum amount of informality for each classroom unit (of adults or children), and perhaps for each individual. Beyond a certain degree of informality, students perceive classroom proceedings and their own progress as stalled. Such excessive informality may be what students complain of as amiable "exchanges of ignorance." I have a hunch that, especially with respect to adults, teachers may become too close to their students, and thus risk losing their capacities for the reasoned judgement required for evaluating students' progress.

An implication of our second principle, knowing the learner, is that it may be helpful to teach our students (children or adults) tactics and strategies by which they can inform us where they are: how they are constructing the problem to be solved, what confuses them, and how they understand whatever is to be learned. We can teach children to say to us, "I'm lost," "Hold it," "Go over that again," "I don't understand," and so on. On one occasion I recommended to a first grade teacher that she teach her pupils to signal her in this way. She responded positively, expressed agreement with the soundness of the procedure, and then, after a pause, said quite spontaneously, "But they'll interrupt the lesson." She chuckled as she realized the meaning of her protestation, but this teacher's comment informed me that covering or completing the lesson had a high priority in her understanding of teaching.

The second principle also suggests that we must be careful about teaching our learners to agree with us excessively, or to give us too quickly what we appear to want. We do this sometimes when we confuse conversations with interrogations. Take, for example, a preschool advisor who said to a teacher, "Why are those books on a table in the middle of the room instead of in that corner?" I would call this an interrogation, because it was a question in which the "right answer" or appropriate action was given away. Ultimately, of course, the advisor wants the advisee to take the appropriate action, and could probably achieve this by giving an order. If the advisor wants the advisee to solve problems on her own, beyond the immediate situation, however, one should address the modification of the latter's understanding.

Surely there is a place for interrogations. Perhaps we want to know whether a young child knows his address and phone number. In such a case we can put it to the child honestly that we want to find out whether he knows it, and then interrogate. But while interrogation is useful for some types of assessment and examination, it may undermine important aspects of teaching. For example,

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let us look at the possible consequences of the preschool advisor's interrogation about the books on the table. The chances are the interrogation reduced the likelihood of subsequent open communication with the teacher. It is unlikely that in subsequent encounters the advisee would share with the advisor her confusions and doubts about organizing the room. Indeed, such a question—depending perhaps on the tone of voice used and facial expression involved—is likely to set in motion an adversary relationship between advisor and advisee, since the interrogation implies the passing of judgement, a putting down of the advisee. I do not intend to take issue with the advisor's recommendations. But the probability that the advisor could help the teacher improve or refine her understanding of room arrangements would increase if the advisor first uncovered the teacher's understanding of the situation. Then, with the knowledge thus obtained, the advisor could share some insights, concepts, or facts which best "match," in Hunt's sense of the term (Hunt, 1961, chap. 7), the teacher's own understanding.

Interrogations inform learners that *we* know the right or best answers, solutions, and ideas. We hope this is so, but it is through conversations in which we probe *others'* thoughts and ideas, in which we solicit their views, opinions, and wishes, that we become informed of another's understandings. This is the crucial step in teaching and advising.

Timing

The implications and hypotheses of our second principle lead to a third one, which seems to fit into the broad category of *timing*. Two aspects of timing are central; one is the speed with which teachers respond to learners in teaching-learning encounters, requiring pacing on the part of the teacher. The second concerns the nature of learning, seen in stages of development.

Pacing

In those frequent encounters in which a learner reveals an incorrect, inappropriate, or oversimplified understanding, the teacher, recognizing the incorrectness, may offer a correction. The question here is whether there is a right or better moment to offer this correction. When teaching student teachers we often have such timing decisions to make: we want to balance the rate at which we offer suggestions (which imply things could be going better) with the rate at which we offer encouragement and support (which imply that things are going well—perhaps beyond our fondest hopes and expectations). It is not *time*, in and of itself, that is at issue. The issue is that learning, change,

and the development of understandings occur in time. Certainly all of us make errors in teaching by responding too fast or too slowly. However, greater latency, which allows more of the learner's behavior to unfold, usually increases the quantity of information upon which the teacher can formulate an appropriate response (perhaps this is merely an elaboration of the old-fashioned virtue "patience"). Hypothetically there will be an optimum degree of latency to every teaching-learning encounter (perhaps unattainable in its entirety); and "pacing" the teaching accordingly is essential for a successful teacher-student relationship.

Developmental Stages

No one enters a social situation as a veteran; it is useful to think of teachers as having developmental stages, with their associated concerns and tasks (see Fuller and Bown, 1975; Katz, 1972). In addition, understandings of teaching develop as experience accrues. Teachers' understanding of what teaching is "all about" is probably more finely and fully differentiated later in their careers than early on, in such things as levels of analysis and conceptions of the teaching situation: i.e. depth of understanding, range of explanations of children's behavior, conceptions of institutional processes and functioning, and so forth. (Presumably the teacher of teachers has a finely differentiated understanding of "what it is all about.")

The point is to focus on the kind of insight-sharing and information-giving which contributes to the steady and long process of refining understandings. Thus, in our discussions of teacher education as well as early childhood education, I suggest that we understand our responsibility more often to be helping the learner to *develop* rather than just *change*. Change is easy, and can be achieved quickly: point a gun at someone and you can make his behavior change! But leave the room, and after 30 minutes, what endures? The focus on development implies attention to questions of timing over the longer course; of modifying, refining, and differentiating understandings of phenomena which are important to the learner.

Ambience

Let us assume that every educational program has a characteristic ambience or atmosphere which is perceived by most of the teachers and learners participating in it (Katz, 1974). Ambience, like social climate, may be defined as "the feeling or tone which expresses something about the feelings generated by the total set of relations between staff and recruits" (Wheeler, 1966). The

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sociointellectual ambience of our teacher education settings should be congruent with the ambience we want our students to create in early childhood education programs. One of the most important challenges I see facing early childhood educators today is to give more intellectual vitality to the sociointellectual ambience of both teacher education and early childhood education settings. In teacher education settings this is achieved when staff members exhibit their concern, curiosity, and involvement in the disciplines relevant to education; it is supported and strengthened when staff members engage students in activities which advance their conceptual awareness and knowledge of early childhood education.

From my observations of early childhood programs in several countries, I have the impression that none of us are providing activities and experiences of the kind into which children can sink their "intellectual teeth." In some programs, children dabble in a wide variety of activities which seem pleasant enough; in other programs, they are engaged in many routine academic tasks. Both lack intellectual vitality. A major goal of early childhood education is to help children make sense of their experiences and environments. In other words, we are responsible for helping young children to develop, refine, improve, or deepen their understandings of the salient aspects of their day-to-day lives. The intellectual vitality of our programs can be strengthened when we encourage and help children to reconstruct these aspects. This can be achieved by actually building and reproducing some aspects, by dramatizing others; and by encouraging children to observe, recount, recall, record, or discuss their perceptions and understandings of their experiences.

Summary

I have a hunch that for this goal to be more fully realized, children in early childhood education programs will have to have stronger attachments to the adults teaching and that, in general, the relationships between adults and children must be characterized by greater intensity than they typically are now. Strength of attachment has to do with adults' usefulness as models as well as sources of demands, support, and encouragement. Intensity has to do with concentration in teaching and learning. In my own teaching experience I find that the process of uncovering students' understandings of relevant phenomena requires my full concentration on the events which unfold in teaching situations.

Such attachment and intensity depend on knowledge of the learner; and mean that time must be made an ally to, rather than a constraint upon, our efforts. Since we cannot cover everything we want our learners to know, we

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must try to teach in such a way as to increase the likelihood that our learners will go on learning. In other words, our teaching should strengthen the learner's *disposition to be a learner*. Those of us who teach teachers are responsible for helping our students to become lifelong students of their own teaching. Some students learn what we have to teach them by the explanations we give; some learn from the model we provide; some learn from the examples and illustrations we share; some learn from all of these. If we teach in ways which are congruent with the ways we hope our students will approach young children; and do so with regard for them as learners who have essential information to give us about how and what to teach them; and, in addition, give them time to develop—if we can put generic principles into practice, we may measure up to some of our most urgent challenges.

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ELIZABETH KELLOGG

PIG IRON, EDUCATION, AND TEACHERS' CENTERS*

by Thomas C. O'Brien

Thomas C. O'Brien is professor of education and director of the Teachers' Center Project, Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. He is a recent recipient of a NATO senior research fellowship in science.

How shall we get there? Shall we fly? Should we take a boat? A bicycle? Should we walk? Maybe we should drive. The answer, of course, depends on the "there." If it's London, a bicycle wouldn't do. If it's the Smithsonian here in Washington, a boat wouldn't do but it might be pleasant to drive or walk or ride a bicycle.

The point, of course, is that we in American education often ask, "How do we get there?" before asking the first question, the question that's the most important, "Where is it that we want to go?" Our little Teachers' Center Project in the St. Louis area has been besieged by questions of the sort: "How do you start a teachers' center? How much space do you need? How much money? How do you lure teachers? How do you get support?" It is commonplace for us in American education to begin with the "How" questions before considering the first question, "What is it that I am trying to do?" Actually, it is necessary for teachers' center people to address *two* first questions: "What is the purpose

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of this enterprise called school education?" and "What, in relation to the answer just given, is the purpose of a teachers' center?"

Underpinnings

What are the underpinnings of American education? On what bases are decisions in education made? One answer was given by Raymond Callahan in 1962 in *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*.[1] Callahan's questions were simply: "What makes American education tick?" "What are the issues which influence decision making in American education?" To answer these questions, he went deeply into the educational literature, starting from the early 1900s, and reported, relatively dispassionately, what he found. His findings are so amply documented as to be irresistible.

American school administrators, then as now, were under great pressure to reform from newspapers, school boards, parents, and societal fashions. In peril of losing their jobs—then as now—school administrators sought bulwarks. What they erected, says Callahan, were several such bulwarks, all adopted or derived from industrial research, policies or practices. This was the time of the automated Ford Motor Company, of rapid industrialization, of big business and mass production. Besieged educational administrators, protecting their jobs, devised factory-based solutions, of which I shall cite three: (1) mass production policies and practices; (2) cost-effectiveness policies and practices; and (3) derivations from research by "efficiency experts" (such as Frederick W. Taylor and "Cheaper by the Dozen" Frank B. Gilbreth, involving stopwatch time/motion issues, one major example of which concerned the movement of pig iron from one corner of a Pennsylvania factory yard to another).

Callahan traces the pervasive influence of these issues in American education through the 1960s. Indeed, one cannot now ignore the almost exclusive attendance of school administrators to custodial affairs, and the *continuing* dominance of factory issues in American education, in terms of an emphasis on mass production, cost effectiveness, and efficiency. Have you heard of the twelve-month school, behavioral objectives, performance contracting. . . ?

There is more, I think, to underpinnings than Callahan addresses. Should we not consider, in addition to school administrators' adoption of factory policies and procedures, the psychological research available to Americans in the first part of the 20th century? As far as American education is based upon psychological research—how far is that?—we must consider a body of research knowledge based on the premise that human beings are passive entities. In educational terms they are seen as passive vessels to be filled—efficiently, to be

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sure—with external stuff (lumps of coal, as it were) called "knowledge." In psychological terms learners are seen as subject only to the *external* controls of reward and punishment, not to any internal control such as a quest involving satisfaction, interest, coherence or survival.[2]

Purpose

Back to the original issue: What is the purpose of this enterprise, American education? I suggest that our purposes are different from those of the Ford Motor Company and of pig iron factories in Pennsylvania. Education is concerned with people and ideas, with their interaction, and with their growth.

An appropriately modest and succinct statement of the purpose of schooling is the following by an Englishwoman, Molly Brearley: "The main work of the school is surely the fostering and developing of mental life, enabling children to experience more fully and consciously all that life has to offer."[3]

Bandwagons

There are at least two consequences—or at least concomitants—of the present factory underpinnings of American education and of our failure to attend to the *purposes* of the enterprise, and ways to achieve those purposes. One is the bandwagonry with which American education is conducted. Perhaps it is part of our national temperament to be in a hurry—there's an expression used in publishing and, I suspect, elsewhere: "If you want it bad, you'll get it bad"—but I think education has had more than its share of once-and-for-all solutions to educational issues. How eager we are to embrace wholeheartedly a program or an approach or a method and then to discard the thing, equally wholeheartedly, when it fails to fulfill our every expectation.

What bandwagons have *you* run across? What things have you seen adopted whole hog, without local reconstruction, and shoved into place—"installed" is the word—regardless of fit? I shall ask you to make your own list. I suspect it is likely to be a long one.

Fragmentation

A second consequence or at least a concomitant of the factory underpinnings of education and of our failure to attend to the purposes of our enterprise is the disarticulation and fragmentation that exists in American

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education. Far too often curriculum consists of bits and tricks thrown together virtually at random. Little attention is given to the interrelationships among the bits and tricks and more important, to the relation, if any, between the bits and tricks and intellectual growth.

Let me cite just two examples here. (I am certain you can make a fuller and better list of your own.) In many classrooms spelling, grammar, punctuation, reading and writing are entities addressed in isolation as far as the classroom schedule is concerned and, more important, isolated so far as the teacher's and the child's viewpoints are concerned. All of these issues and a host of other issues such as playgiving, dictionary skills, and vocabulary building (to name a few) are all aspects of two important superordinate issues: the development of a child's thinking and the development of a child's ability to communicate.

Regarding bits and tricks, here is Brearley again:

> [Beware] the fatal habit of educators to trust too much to the apparatus, the gadget or the "method" and by applying it indiscriminately, in what must then be many inappropriate situations, lose sight of the end for which it was designed. . . . It is not long since the writer saw a child, who had learnt to read fluently before he came to school, punished for not being able to sound out the phonic components of the words on a first reading card. It is easy not only to miss the wood for the trees, but to overlook the fact that one ever had the wood in mind.[4]

A second example of disarticulation and fragmentation is the current craze for metric education. Experience with metrication is, to be sure, an important part of the intellectual background of children who will be adults in the 21st century, but metric education must, it seems to me, be seen as an aspect of a much broader issue: the construction of scientific and mathematical knowledge by children. To install topics in metrication in a curriculum in which children rarely investigate, problem-solve, and establish relationships, and in which children never weigh, measure, or classify in their investigations, is simply to add new weight to an already inert bundle of baggage.

Supply

There is another consequence or concomitant of a factory view of education and of a view of the human as a passive entity rather than one who acts, organizes, and quests. The issue is that of supply. How often do people in education view themselves as suppliers—providers of "stuff" such as curricula, materials, schedules, information, nomenclature, facts, rules, recipes, procedures—to clients who are viewed as mere storers and retrievers or, at

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best, consumers? Certainly this is so of many schools of education, whose role has been the supply of people and credentials to the organism called American education.

What about ideas? Where do they come from? At the teacher education level the issue has both a local and a national aspect. At the local level, how do new ideas get abroad? In my part of the country, local school districts or coalitions of school districts routinely put on a once-a-year "institute day" or "workshop day" where dozens or hundreds of hour-long sessions are provided to hundreds or thousands of teachers who attend. Additionally, in some school districts there are occasional single sessions or strings of workshops. In either circumstance, one often does "Multiethnic Awareness" or "Classroom Management" or "Math Games" or "Behavior Modification and the Fifth-Grade Classroom."

It is not the triviality of the issues addressed nor the disarticulation with which topics are presented that bears comment here, though obviously comment is deserved. Rather it is the *supply* mentality—the chimerical view that knowledge exists in the external world to be handed out in doses—with which I argue. What happens in such sessions is that participants come together briefly, often for guest sessions out of context with local circumstances (with participants unaware of the context from which the guest's work arises), the session goes on, and then participants and guest part company, never to fall together again.

I suggest that such affairs—whether or not a guest is involved—often have a neutral effect at best, in that a teacher might pick up a bit or trick to use the following morning at 9:15. Conceivably, however, such sessions can have harmful effects. A teacher whose "workshopping" merely augments a bag of disarticulated tricks may become increasingly fragmented in the classroom, or may gain a false sense of intellectual or professional well-being, or may take a position so far out on a limb that it is difficult to return.

The issue is again one of purpose. If the goal is to entertain one's clients or to provide an afternoon of change-of-pace or just plain fun, there is no question that isolated workshops fill the bill. If the goal, however, is to cause growth or to improve education something else is needed. What is needed, at least, is time for the teacher to reflect and organize and try out and extend—in short, to make the issue one's own. What is needed as well is the chance to try one's own ideas out on others, to entertain alternatives, to elaborate one's ideas and to build toward coherence, stability and generalizability. What is needed, in short, is a continuing framework—a support system—in which teachers can work. "Learning is a constantly renewed process of synthesis between continuity and novelty."[5] It is not a one-shot fix.

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National Curricula

At the national level the factory view of education has had consequences as well. The post-Sputnik curriculum development movement, now almost 20 years old, embodied supply methods both in purpose and in method.

At the outset it was thought, "a massive reformulation of what is to be taught in the schools of the United States of America is underway."[6] Textbooks were the vehicle for change, by and large, in the view that the text determines almost exclusively *what* is taught and, to a large extent, *when* it is taught.[7]

From almost all of the curriculum reform groups, additional supplies were forthcoming. The new spirit and point of view, together with some new content and the restructuring of old content, posed a serious problem for many teachers. Recognizing that problem, developers devised *not only* pupil texts but extensive teachers' guides, supplementary and enrichment texts, and in-service courses, institutes, and films.

As of May 1976 it is clear that effects of the curriculum reform movement are limited to say the least.[8] It is the rare instance, I must say after 15 years' professional contact with American schooling, that teachers have given an impression of being either comfortable with or knowledgeable about curricula supplied them by curriculum reform groups. One must distinguish, I am convinced, between curriculum X on the one hand as it is embodied in textbook pages, in commentaries on that curriculum in scholarly journals, in closely controlled doctoral dissertations and indeed as it is seen in the eyes of its maker, and on the other hand, as it is carried out in school classrooms.

As a mathematics educator I can say the same thing. Perhaps mathematics education was the brightest star in the constellation of curriculum reform efforts, but even here the classroom payoff was largely nil.

"The overwhelming conclusion" of a survey of 1,220 teachers in grades 2 and 5 "from a wide variety of classroom situations across the country, is that mathematics teachers and classrooms have changed far less in the past 15 years than had been supposed. . . . Teachers are teaching essentially the same way they were taught in school. Almost none of the concepts, methods, or big ideas of modern mathematics programs have appeared [in classrooms]."[9]

As is well known, American education is at present in a "back to basics" swing. The common wisdom is that new curricula were tried and found wanting. I suggest that in many cases new curricula were *supplied* but were never tried at all.

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THOMAS C. O'BRIEN

The Improvement of Education

It seems to me that there are three necessary components to the improvement of education. One is intellectual underpinnings, the second is children, and the third is teachers. No claim is made that these components are sufficient, but the history of American education suggests that they are necessary. Let me cite two examples.

(1) In the 1920s, '30s and '40s there was, in the United States, a movement called progressive education. To be sure, teachers were in on the act of education, and their concern for children was very great. But the progressive education movement, in which teachers were concerned with meeting the needs, concerns, and interests of children, fell into disfavor such that by the 1960s the words "progressive education" were widely used in a pejorative way. What happened? In brief, teachers outran their intellectual underpinnings. Of the issue, the British psychologist Kenneth Lovell remarks, "It would seem to me that the progressive education movement foundered on the rock that the teacher did not structure the situation, did not have a grasp of the subject matter, did not know where she was headed, and there was a tendency to let children go it on their own."[10]

(2) In the post-Sputnik curriculum movement—in particular, "modern mathematics"—the quality of the intellectual underpinnings was beyond dispute. Certainly the content was sound. But this time children were left out of the act. All too often we pretended that the world view of the school child was the same as that of the Ph.D. curriculum maker. And left out, by and large, were teachers, especially those at the elementary school level. Curriculum packages were parachuted from on high, and teachers were expected to carry forward a point of view and a collection of ideas which to this day most have never engaged.

If lasting and substantive improvement in American education is to take place, whatever happens must be intellectually sound. Whatever happens should have a purpose. Whatever happens should involve an organized complex of ideas and practices and their relationships, else one is left with disarticulated fragments, with confused teachers, and with bewildered students.

It is clear that whatever happens must take place with a care and concern for children, their well-being and their life chances. But that, I think, is not enough. Whatever happens must be accompanied by—no, saturated with—a knowledge of children: how they think, how they learn, how they see and engage the world, lest we fall into the trap of thinking that children are only small versions of ourselves whose only need is to have more information piled on.

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Given education with sound underpinnings, and care for and knowledge of children, it seems indispensable that teachers themselves engage seriously in the act of education. In curriculum developments they should be helpers, at least, in order to keep scholars and curriculum makers in touch with schools and with children—to bring them down to earth as it were. And at the classroom coalface teachers must be agents, not patients, in the use of curricula. If teachers are going to have merely a thin veneer of ideas concerning some new curriculum—some new vocabulary and some fragmented activities—that curriculum is doomed to domination and deformation in terms of the teachers' long-established world view of education, of content, and of classroom practice. If progress is to be made, teachers must be given the opportunity and the *resources* to make the curriculum their own, to reconstruct it on their own terms, and to elaborate it in context with their own local conditions. Indeed, small groups of teachers working continuingly, collaboratively and with leadership can make original and substantive contributions to education far beyond their individual classrooms, a fact demonstrated in the United Kingdom over the past 30 years[11] and in beginning steps in the U.S.[12]

In sum, there are three necessary conditions for improvement in education: strong intellectual underpinnings, care and knowledge about children, and active teacher involvement. No claim is made that these are sufficient conditions but it is fair to say that they are necessary, lest the history of "progressive education" and "modern mathematics" be revisited.

Teachers' Centers

You may well be tempted by now to say, "I thought this was about teachers' centers." Although the words "teachers' center" have been mentioned only once or twice until now, the issues raised are precisely the issues with which teachers' centers should be concerned. There are three reasons that this is so. First, it would be both blind and foolish for teachers' centers to act out of context with the issues that concern American education in general. To do so is to *add* yet another gimmick to an already fragmented assortment of tricks, programs, practices and bureaucratic entities. Second, the issues that I have raised—purposes first, then policies; bandwagonry, fragmentation, and supply—are issues which teachers' centers must address. For example, if the teachers' center movement itself were to become a bandwagon—or if teachers' centers were to make a career of promoting the latest kits and "inservice modules"—the whole point and promise of the movement would be lost. Third, the issues of intellectual underpinnings, concern for and knowledge of

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children, and teacher reconstruction and construction of knowledge are issues which desperately need attention in American education. They are issues with which teachers' centers should be concerned. They are issues which, perhaps, *only* teachers' centers can address—and make contributions to—in a substantive and lasting way.

What is a teachers' center? Others have attempted definitions[13] and I, somewhat less elaborately, would like to try my hand. From what I have experienced and seen, a teachers' center is, minimally, a meeting (1) where teachers eat and (2) where teachers are mutually supportive. Without attempting to raise quasi-mystical issues, I suggest that the sharing of food often involves more than the raising of sugar levels after a long, difficult day in the classroom. And the mutual support often suggests that teachers are doing much more than simply putting in time at just another meeting. What I see is the forming of communities of like-minded or like-questing teachers in a profession not widely noted for mind or quest. What I see is teachers' own voluntary solution to the problem Sarason raises when he says, "Teaching is a lonely profession."[14] But perhaps most important, I see an interest and a concern for *people* in a profession whose frequent concern is for things. A major contribution of teachers' centers may well be in terms of effect: increased self-esteem, confidence and willingness to seek and share advice.

The Promise of Teachers' Centers

But if education is concerned with people and ideas and with their growth, something more is needed. Congeniality exists in bridge clubs, on tennis courts, and in taverns. What is needed is the opportunity and the resources for teachers to grow intellectually and professionally, perhaps even to become self-sustaining in that growth. What is needed is for teachers to have not only fellow teachers as resources—both practical and spiritual—for help with classroom problems, but also to have external sources of ideas for tryout, elaboration, and extension. At the very least teachers should undertake informal research, readings and sharing of readings, and contact with researchers and scholars, to say nothing of observations of children and their intellectual growth and development. All this is possible within a teachers' center. Indeed, and again, perhaps it is possible *only* within a teachers' center.

But there is still more. It seems possible—in fact, likely—that the teachers' center movement is the natural heir to the curriculum reform movement of the 1950s, '60s and early '70s, which, I have suggested, did not fail but which went largely untried. Not only do teachers' centers have as a natural role the reconstruction by teachers of curriculum ideas already abroad, and the testing

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and elaboration of those ideas in local real-world contexts (an issue widely unattended to), but, it seems to me, teachers' centers can become generators of new knowledge, new curricula and new research through local coherent, continuing, and collaborative work by teachers.

In short, what I would like to see is an organic, garden model of educational improvement rather than a mechanistic model better suited to the Ford Motor Company or pig iron factories in Pennsylvania. What I see is a cottage industry called education rather than an industrialized monolith. Within that cottage industry I see small-scale enterprises—teachers' centers—which because of their appropriate scale can attend cost-effectively and productively to the simple, classical priorities of education: ideas (old and new), people (children and their teachers), their interaction and growth.

Through the 20th century American education has suffered a succession of fads, frills, fragments, and industrial-technological gimmicks which, by and large, have had little effect on the intellectual well-being or life chances of children. Perhaps the nascent activity of teachers' centers is a badly needed step in the right direction.

Notes

[1]Raymond E. Callahan, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).

[2]"Psychology in the first half of the 20th century was dominated by a positivistic-mechanistic-reductionistic approach which can be epitomized as the robot model of man." Ludwig von Bertalanffy, *Organismic Psychology and Systems Theory* (New York: Barre, 1968), p. 6. See also Jean Piaget, *Main Trends in Psychology* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1973).

[3]Molly Brearley et al., *Teaching of Young Children: Some Applications of Piaget's Learning Theory* (New York: Schocken, 1970), p. 7. The next two sentences are surely worth considering: "This large overall aim is to be achieved by an infinity of small steps. The material we provide can seldom be thought of as an end in itself but rather as a means through which effective thinking and feeling are fostered."

[4]Ibid.

[5]Barbel Inhelder et al., *Learning and the Development of Cognition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 271-272.

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[6]John I. Goodlad, *School Curriculum Reform in the United States* (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1964), p. 9.

[7]William Wooten, "History and Status of the School Mathematics Study Group," in *New Curricula*, ed. Robert W. Heath (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. 39.

[8]See, for example, Gene I. Maeroff, "The Return to Fundementals [sic] in the Nation's Schools," *New York Times*, December 6, 1975, p. 50.

[9]*Overview and Analysis of School Mathematics, Grades K-12* (Washington, D.C.: National Advisory Committee on Mathematical Education, Conference Board of the Mathematical Sciences, 1975), pp. 69, 77.

[10]Kenneth Lovell, "Implications of Piagetian Research for Education," in a collection of transcribed interviews produced by the Teachers' Center Project, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois.

[11]Schools Council, *Mathematics in Primary Schools* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972), p. 102.

[12]See, for example, Thomas C. O'Brien, "Diary of a Teachers' Center," *Mathematics Teaching* 72, Fall 1975: 42-45.

[13]See, for example, Kathleen Devaney and Lorraine Thorn, *Exploring Teachers' Centers* (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1975). See also, Robert Thornbury, ed., *Teachers' Centres* (New York: Agathon, 1974), in which Geoffrey Matthews sees a teachers' center as "a meeting place for two or more people concerned with learning," p. 49.

[14]Seymour B. Sarason, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), pp. 105-108.

ELIZABETH KELLOGG

OWNERSHIP AND DIALOGUE IN TRANSFORMING TEACHERS' WORK

by William Fibkins

William Fibkins is a counselor at Bay Shore Junior High School, New York, and the founder and coordinator of the Bay Shore Teacher Center.

I think we need to borrow from the work of Abraham Maslow (1971) and ask: What conditions of work are best for personal fulfillment? Maslow argues that since most of our basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing are satisfied, workers are no longer just interested in, or satisfied with economic rewards. Workers now are interested in and demanding job conditions that meet their human needs as well. Maslow suggests that new organizations can evolve, in which social needs of the individual worker can merge with the goals of the organization. If this happens, managers need not fear the increased participation of workers; in schools, increased teacher participation in the governance of the community school would work to increase teacher effectiveness and job satisfaction.

Teachers are no different from other workers. Once they reach a level of economic security (which a vast majority of teachers in our country have done), they have a need for more meaningful work, for responsibility, for

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creativity, for being fair and just, for doing what is worthwhile, and doing it well. Maslow suggests that in the negotiations between workers and managers, defining "pay" in terms of money alone is clearly obsolete. We must begin to develop within the educational management-union framework ways for people to receive other kinds of pay once they have reached economic security—belongingness, respect, appreciation, as well as the fostering of the highest values—truth, autonomy, excellence, justice, order. Indeed, "pay" of this kind is what I sense the American teacher is asking for.

I am not suggesting that we adopt massive new pay programs now, but that we begin to reconceptualize the whole issue of pay and rewards and recognize that motivations and incentives change over the lifetime of the teacher, administrator, custodian, and counselor. If management, unions, and school staff could begin consciously and actively to promote meaningful, mutual ownership of the work, I believe there would be dramatically increased caring and reduced griping. In turn, this definition of "pay" must be applied to students, with analogous alternative grading and other rewards systems introduced.

Establishing a Sense of Community

Any renewal program for teachers must include the adoption of new organizational patterns that increase human interaction among all staff. The separation of people into grade, departmental, and professional and nonprofessional roles isolates one from "the other" and keeps us from sharing the joys and struggles of the job. The limited human interaction that does occur takes place in faculty rooms and staff meetings—usually places not conducive to human contact, and certainly no atmosphere in which to consider renewing one's self. In my observations, faculty members in schools do not really know "the other"—his interests, hobbies, the lesson he teaches well, the fears he has about losing control with rebellious kids, etc. We sign in in the morning, teach "our kids," go home. The result of this isolation is boredom and alienation. In one study Seymour Sarason (1971) observed that without exception teachers with more than five years' experience had lost enthusiasm, excitement, and their sense of mission and challenge. In one way or another, these teachers indicated that they rarely experienced, now, a sense of personal or intellectual growth. The shape of the future was dismally clear, repeating a routine with which they were already far too familiar. In my observations, as teachers grow older, organizational isolation and boredom erode their sense of purpose on the job. Most people need a "belonging" sense of responsibility and purpose—feeling part of a group or community they can depend on and con-

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tribute to. Can we teach children how to live in a community when we ourselves lack a sense of community in our work?

It seems clear to me, then, that a school renewal effort ought to include the opportunity for all members of the school community to participate in a "community of equals," no matter what their level of training, knowledge, or experience might be. Bruno Bettelheim (1973) found that the staff of a mental institution could be more effective, and find the work more rewarding, to the degree that they could form a community for their common purpose. It was not necessary that all live together; each retained his private life, but during working hours they had to function as one.

We have had a comparable experience in our work in the Bay Shore Teachers' Center. We have found that offering workshops taught by local staff—whether teachers, administrators, secretaries, or custodians—along with "celebrations" or social events, helps to diminish the boredom and complaints by nonprofessional staff, and helps each member of the community develop a respect for the "other" and his work. We can learn many new skills from one another to help us be more effective and satisfied in our jobs. For example, secretarial and custodial staffs in schools often have a surer handle on what's happening with students than professional staff. They are in a position to provide some primary intervention for students. The counseling staff of a school might offer them special workshops on child and adolescent development, how to listen, and offer help, in the knowledge that students often seek help from fellow students and "significant others" in the environment before seeking professional help.

Everyone who works in a school has some interest, talent, or experience that might be used by teachers. Many staff members have expertise in carpentry, cooking, music, photography—consider how many people have traveled extensively—experiences that can be used with children. But who ever asks? A catalogue of these unique resources could be organized, and janitors, secretaries, teachers, and administrators could be used as instructors in special workshops for both staff and students. Such simple actions result in greater appreciation on the part of staff for the work of "the other" and reduce the importance of rank in providing service. As Bettelheim comments, calling everyone by his first name seems very democratic, but none of it means much as long as rank is maintained.

Initiating Self-Renewal

Some process of this kind must be found to diminish the power of rank and to focus on the contributions of all staff. Paolo Freire (1971) warns that

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leaders of a liberating program must not go to the people bearing a message of "salvation." The would-be liberators must learn the people's objective situation and their awareness of that situation – the various levels of perception of themselves and of the world. They must learn this through mutual dialogue with the people. One cannot expect positive results from educational or political action which fails to respect the learner's particular view of the world. The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspiration of the learners. This situation must be posed as the learning problem challenging and requiring a response – not just at the intellectual level but at the level of action.

For our purposes of teacher renewal, posing the question, "How can we maintain our effectiveness and creativity as we grow older?" to voluntary groups of teachers, support staff, managers, and union leaders will produce statements on themes such as boredom, fatigue, loss of confidence in learning new subject matter, fear of losing control of the class, etc. One way to initiate the renewal curriculum can be by improvising visual scenarios of these themes through role playing, or by videotaping school people acting out these dilemmas. These are forms of dialogue. As the dialogue continues, recommendations for organizational and personnel change will emerge; and if the dialogue has truly worked to seek out the needs of the staff, collaborative school-wide alternatives will begin to emerge.

But, as Freire emphasizes, the important thing is for people to come to feel like masters of their thinking by discussing the views of the world which are explicitly or implicitly manifest in their own and their comrades' suggestions. This concept of adult education starts with the conviction that the instructor cannot present his own program, but must search for a new program "dialogically" with the people – develop a "pedagogy of the oppressed" with the learner. For when we talk of teachers and other school people assuming a master's role over their own training and renewal systems, we are talking about people who have been, if not oppressed, subservient; and who now should assume command over their own learning. Freire makes clear that those who attempt renewal efforts must not fear the learners, their expression, their effective participation. The renewal program must be accountable to them, must speak frankly to them of its achievement, its mistakes, its miscalculations, and its difficulties.

The curriculum for a school renewal program should emphasize an examination of the real dilemmas as perceived by the staff of each individual school community. This will be no easy task, for teachers and administrators have traditionally looked to the university for direction and sustenance. As a

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result, inservice has often focused on research carried on at the university and courses taught by university staff. Sarason (1974) charges that this system has been inappropriate for the task because university people haven't understood how schools are organized, how they operate, or how change occurs. But how can we involve teachers, support staff, and administrators in self-renewal programs (and ultimately change in the organization and governance of their work place) when they have little experience assuming a leadership role over their own professional existence?

Breaking out of the "Culture of Silence"

To accomplish this task of involving teachers, administrators, and support staff in their own renewal, I propose that we attend to Freire's argument that every human being, no matter how submerged he is in the "culture of silence," is capable of looking critically at his world during a dialogue where "the other" is encountered as equal. Provided with the tools for such an encounter, he can gradually perceive his personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. In this process the old, paternalistic teacher-student (in our case, professor-teacher) relationship is overcome.

Freire's model of the "humanist revolutionary educator" might be an appropriate role model for facilitators of renewal programs to try. Freire suggests that from the outset the educator's goal must coincide with that of the students (in our case, the teachers who volunteer for renewal programs) to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization. The facilitator's efforts must be imbued with trust for the learner's creative powers, and he must be a partner to the students. Sarason (1972) also draws attention to this important partnership process when he observes that both Freud and Dewey stressed it is nonsense to think and act as if helpers and helped, teacher and pupil, are different kinds of people, or that one can change or help the other without experiencing change in himself.

In his dealings with the teachers, the facilitator for renewal programs may be able to teach the teachers a new problem-posing process based on their own life and classroom experiences—successes, failures, aspirations. This process will not be a depositor-of-information approach, but a dialogue that helps teachers state their own needs and plan to transform their work. In this process, no *one* teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. People teach each other, mediated by their experience of the world.

Once experienced in this new process, teachers perhaps could teach this way with students. Some of the innovations that now falter and fail (open

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classrooms, small group work, individualization, activities, and curriculum that help students practice freedom and democracy) might be resuscitated. Our expectations of teachers to change their environments and styles have failed to take into account that they have had little experience in self-directedness and the use of personal power. And they have lacked a nurturing community from which they could take sustenance. People need a community in which free conversation can take place. Community is the group in which I can depend on my fellows to support me; it is partially the source of my physical courage, in that, knowing I can depend on others, I guarantee that they can also depend on me. Community is where my moral courage, consisting of standing against members of my own group, is supported even by those I stand against.

Steps in Changing the Work Place

Our experience in the Bay Shore Teachers' Center suggests that such a self-renewal dialogue could be carried on in selected pilot schools similar to the League of Cooperating Schools established by the Study of Educational Change for School Improvement (1975). Perhaps 15 to 20 schools might be identified in one geographical area—schools with differing economic and organizational make-up. From each school a "self-renewal facilitator" might be released half time—people who are viewed by colleagues as helpful. They should receive training in organizational development, group dynamics, listening and communications skills, mid-career crisis intervention, aging process, participant observation research, etc. In turn, these specialists could be supported by paraprofessionals chosen from the community who would also experience the same training program. As layoffs of teachers increase, these positions might be negotiated with joint support by management and unions. In addition, negotiations might include the use of a comfortable setting in the school, equipped with library and curriculum work materials where renewal programs would go on. Negotiation would also include an arrangement to release teachers and support staff from their regular duties to serve in this setting as teachers for their peers.

In addition to coordinating workshops based on staff needs, the renewal facilitator would also serve as a counselor to teachers, offering feedback of a personal and professional dimension and evoking the real learning needs of each individual.

Evaluation of such a project might be built on Sarason's (1971) model of the "external critic": that is, someone present in each of the renewal centers for a period of time each week, who accepts the task of understanding and

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responding to the purpose and values of the setting, to the consistency between values and action, and to the sources of actual and potential problems. He is not a member of the setting, but an outsider, independent, knowledgeable, and sympathetic to its purposes. He makes a long-term commitment and regularly spends time in a way he deems necessary to gain knowledge and understanding. His relationship to the setting is implicitly based on agreement that his task is to contrast the reality as he sees it with the way those in the setting see it; that his goal is not to be loved or admired; and that his remuneration will not depend on the cheeriness of his perceptions. He paints reality as he sees it. He has no responsibility except to observe, study, and report. He is not someone who waits for problems to be brought to him, he seeks them out. His obligation is not to any individual, but to the purposes and values of the setting.

This role might best be served by personnel trained in a local university and would allow the schools of education to make a unique contribution to these efforts to change the work place of the teacher.

The Need for Control

These suggestions for renewal programs reflect only a small part of a growing third force in both industry and education, a new approach to change the work place for both management and workers. Participation in this movement is voluntary – not required by management or unions. It emerges out of the need of the members of the work community to have some degree of ownership and control over their own work life. Roeber (1975) comments that this move toward a voluntarist society is not an organized political movement, but rather like a steady sifting of choice – of power – into the population, and the slow growth of control as that choice is used. The unit of action is the individual, for it is the individual who is being given the power to change in many little ways. And given the choice, he is using it in his own interest. Even if it grants the individual only limited increases in his freedom, the effects are profound.

Thelen (1973) speaks to this emerging voluntary society when he observes that education is a complex enterprise, whose utility depends to a high degree on the volunteered courage, insight, and commitment by thousands of teachers and educational functionaries. Their efforts cannot be coordinated by force (or supervision), nor can their behavior be programmed by administrators (procedures). The basis of coordination has to be a shared commitment to an educational vision: the concept of a profession. Incongruence experienced between rhetoric and reality generates the tensions that point to

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solutions. For instance, the growing demand on the part of teachers for more control over their own professional lives and training, for some rewards other than economic, results in the defensiveness of some university-based teacher educators. These tensions at first glance suggest that the current debate over teacher renewal programs is isolated to matters of form and control. Will the university, union, local district, parents, or some combination of the above control the teacher renewal "market"?

For me, the real issues do not involve what power group will control renewal, but what the individual does to spur and shape his own renewal. The current tensions reflect the profession's need for a process in which unions, management, state departments of education, colleges of education, parents, support staff, and students are held to their proper rank as *partners* with teachers, and are held to the honest challenge of mutual, critical dialogue *with* teachers over the reality of the classroom.

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ELIZABETH KELLOGG

ON READING JOHN DEWEY TODAY*

by Maja Apelman

Maja Apelman is an advisor and curriculum developer at Mountain View Center for Environmental Education, University of Colorado, Boulder. An early childhood and social studies specialist, she has taught teachers and children at Bank Street College and has been a Head Start teacher trainer.

It seems I have always known *about* John Dewey. I knew him as the "father of progressive education"—hero or villain depending on your point of view—a philosopher-educator who advocated "learning by doing" and inspired many educational experiments in the first half of this century. But only recently did I actually begin to *know* John Dewey.

Reading Dewey for the first time in 1975 was an experience both joyful and sad. It was joyful because he writes so beautifully about children, schools, and learning; sad because what he said has been so little heeded and understood. A first reading of Dewey also leaves one struck with how comprehensive and, although it is an overworked term, relevant his ideas seem. In *Democracy and*

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Education Dewey discusses the four stages of the thinking process. The first he calls "experience," and he decries the fact that teachers assume experiences which their pupils often have not had. Empirical situations must initiate thought: "The fallacy consists in supposing that we can begin with ready-made subject matter of arithmetic, or geography, or whatever, irrespective of some direct personal experience of a situation" *(Democracy and Education,* p. 153).

After experiences, we need data: "The material of thinking is not thoughts, but actions, facts, events, and the relations of things" (ibid., pp. 156-57). After data come ideas, always original because they can never be conveyed from one person to another:

> When [an idea] is told, it is, to the one to whom it is told, another given fact, not an idea. The communication may stimulate the other person to realize the question for himself, and to think out a like idea, or it may smother his intellectual interest and suppress his dawning effort at thought. But what he *directly* gets cannot be an idea. . . . We can and do supply ready-made "ideas" by the thousands; we do not usually take much pains to see that the one learning engages in significant situations where his own activities generate, support, and clinch ideas—that is, perceived meanings or connections. (Ibid., pp. 159-60)

I like the expression "clinch ideas"—it implies activity and work, and is very different from passively receiving ideas.

Ideas, for Dewey, are anticipations of possible solutions and are tested by the operation of acting upon them. They are an intermediate in learning, not final. Getting an idea is identical with having an experience "which widens and makes more precise our contact with the environment" (ibid., p. 160). Dewey talks about the need to establish cross connections between the subject matter of lessons and the wider and more direct experiences of everyday life, and concludes: "The best type of teaching bears in mind the desirability of affecting this interconnection. It puts the student in the habitual attitude of finding points of contact and mutual bearings" (ibid., p. 163).

There are three thin books by Dewey, all available in paperback, which I would make required reading for every education student, and for every teacher applying for recertification: *The Child and the Curriculum, The School and Society,* and *Experience and Education.* First published in 1902, *The Child and the Curriculum* describes and criticizes the advocates of two opposing educational trends. In today's jargon these would be the traditionalists, "back to the basics" people, versus the champions of free schools. (I purposely do not contrast "traditional" with "open" or "informal" education. I often see, at least in the theories of the latter, honest attempts to develop a

workable system. Many of our free schools, however, abuse the concept of open education in the same way that many schools in the 1930s abused Dewey's progressive education ideas.)

Dewey said that the advocates of what came to be known as the "child-centered curriculum" tended to abdicate their responsibility as adults whose wider knowledge and experience should facilitate the child's entry into the world of people and things, of the present and the past. (Today, many of the young "anti-establishment" people who go into elementary school teaching refuse to assume the responsibility and authority which must be part of any mature person's functioning.) "There is no point in . . . [a person's] being more mature," Dewey wrote, "if, instead of using his greater insight to help organize the conditions of the experience of the immature, he throws away his insight. . . . The mature person, to put it in moral terms, has no right to withhold from the young on given occasions whatever capacity for sympathetic understanding his own experience has given him" *(Experience and Education,* p. 38). Then as now, this is one of the big shortcomings of many who consider themselves friends of children.

On the other side, Dewey noted, are the traditionalists, teachers who feel quite comfortable in their role as adults, but who often have little contact with the real world of the young. They devise curricula which ignore the way children learn, live, and grow. To use Dewey's term, they "fractionalize" the world of the child by dividing up subject matter which the child does not see as separate, and preclassify knowledge in a manner that is totally alien to the child's natural thought processes and interests:

> When material is directly supplied in the form of a lesson to be learned as a lesson, the connecting links of need and aim are conspicuous for their absence. . . .The organic and vital mean interaction – they mean play of mental demand and material supply. . . .The most scientific matter, arranged in most logical fashion, loses this quality, when presented in external, ready-made fashion, by the time it gets to the child. *(The Child and the Curriculum,* pp. 25-26)

Dewey does not see the need for this dichotomy, does not want to oppose the child and the curriculum. Subject matter, he says, is not fixed, ready-made, outside the child's experience; the child's experience is not anything hard and fast; it is "fluent, embryonic, vital. . . . The child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process" (ibid., p. 11). What is this process? It is growing up, maturing, entering the rich adult world "represented by the organized bodies of truth that we call studies" (ibid.). That is, entering this world by a kind of learning which never gets discon-

nected from the child. There is constant movement from the child to his studies; there is always interaction between the learner and his environment.

What kind of curriculum did Dewey develop in his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago? It was not an "open" curriculum even in the best sense of the term today, that is, taken largely from children's questions and interests and then developed and extended by the teacher. It was a curriculum carefully planned by the school's staff to achieve the aims of Dewey's social philosophy. For Dewey, social development in its broadest sense—cooperation, responsibility, self-discipline, morality, and motivation to perform tasks needed by one's group—was of the utmost importance. The school was to be a community of teachers and children where life would be "a simplified and ordered continuation of the life of the home. In this environment, both new and familiar, the child, conscious of no break in his experience, could learn to become a useful member of a larger social group" (Mayhew and Edwards, *The Dewey School*, pp. 22-23).

Dewey believed that before the advent of formal schooling, education took place in the home in a natural and effective way. Children's experiences were in tune with the life of their families and their community and they began early to observe, to imitate, and to participate. Schools, with their emphasis on acquiring skills and learning lessons unrelated to the child's life outside the school, introduced a rift which hindered the child's development. In 1897 Dewey wrote: "Statistics recently collected . . . show that seventy-five to eighty percent of the first years of a child in school is spent upon the form, not the substance of learning; is given to the mastering of symbols of reading, writing, and arithmetic. There is not much positive nutriment in this" (ibid., p. 25). Dewey wanted to create a school which would bridge this gap and break down the traditional barriers which separated school from the rest of the child's everyday life. His arguments seem so logical that one can only wonder at the persistence of the educational community in keeping the gap open. The child, says Dewey,

> should take the same attitude and point of view at school as at home. . . .He should feel the same interest in going to school because he finds there things worth doing for their own sake and just as interesting as the plays and occupations of his home and neighborhood. Again, the same motives which keep the child at work and growing should be used in the school as in the home, so that he shall not feel that he has one set of reasons which belongs to the school and another which is used in the home. (Ibid., pp. 24-25)

Since Dewey felt that in the pre-industrial world children learned best from the work done in the home, he introduced some of this work into his cur-

riculum: carpentry, sewing, weaving, and cooking played an important part in Dewey's school, not because he felt that children should learn these skills for their own sake, but because he saw in this work "methods of living and learning." Today's preoccupation with career education might lead some readers to think that Dewey wanted to incorporate vocational training into schools. Not at all. The "life occupations" taught at the school were the means by which children were put into contact with the arts, sciences, and humanities. They were starting points for explorations into the accumulated knowledge of our civilization, chosen as starting points because children took to them with interest and pleasure.

> The great thing to keep in mind, then, regarding the introduction into the school of various forms of active occupation, is that through them the entire spirit of the school is renewed. It has a chance to affiliate itself with life, to become the child's habitat, where he learns through directed living, instead of being only a place to learn lessons having an abstract and remote reference to some possible living to be done in the future. . . .This is the fundamental fact, and from this arise the continuous and orderly streams of instruction. . . .In the school the typical occupations followed are freed from all economic stress. The aim is not the economic value of the products, but the development of social power and insight. It is this liberation from narrow utilities, this openness to the possibilities of the human spirit, that makes these practical activities in the school allies of art and centers of sciences and history. *(School and Society*, p. 18)

The so-called independent schools in New York City in which I trained and taught all grew out of this tradition. One that perhaps came the closest to Dewey's idea of a community of people engaged in cooperative, meaningful work was the City and Country School, founded by Caroline Pratt early in this century. In its program, students are given an opportunity to develop in microcosm some of the services found in the larger world. The program "conceives of the children as being of service to each other as well as to themselves" (Winsor, *Social Education of Young Children).* The various classes in this school have jobs—managing a store which sells school and office supplies, taking care of all the schools' mail, running a printing shop, and so on.

In the other schools I knew, often larger than City and Country, there was less of a sense of an all-school community, but within each classroom the learning was organized primarily around social studies, which was considered the "core" of the curriculum. Thus, in the first and second grades, some aspect of the child's immediate environment was generally studied—the organization of the neighborhood, or of Manhattan Island—in terms of the

needs of its people and the work done to meet those needs.[1] Third graders most often would go back in history but still remain in the same geographic environment: they might learn about the Woodland Indians who inhabited upper Manhattan, or about the early Dutch settlers who built their colony at the southern end of the island. As children's sense of time and history became firmer, their studies would take them further afield to the Vikings, the Egyptians, or the ancient Greeks. As far as possible, all other subject areas—language arts, mathematics, science, music, and art—were related to this social studies "core." There was room for individual interests, as different children would explore different aspects of the culture they were studying. But the core always remained a group undertaking, with individual projects enriching the total work of the group.

How does the teacher fit into this picture? If the environment—natural, manmade, and social—is seen as the raw material for curriculum, and if instruction is the process of making connections between the environment and the child, the teacher's responsibility is great. From 1894 to 1904 Dewey was Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago. The Laboratory School, which his wife headed, was a unit of the university. We are lucky to have an extremely detailed record in *The Dewey School,* written by Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, two sisters who were active leaders in the development and administration of the school, and who also taught there. The book gives rich accounts of classroom activities as well as excellent summaries of the philosophic basis of its curriculum. After the idea of the school as a form of community had been established, Mayhew and Edwards write, the next task was to work out a well-defined body of subject matter. They write about the "opportunity and responsibility" that the school had for developing a "course of study" for the children that would contribute to the improvement of existing school practices:

> Custom and convention conceal from most of us the extreme intellectual poverty of the traditional course of study, as well as its lack of intellectual organization. It still consists, in large measure, of a number of disconnected subjects made up of more or less independent items. An experienced adult may supply connections and see the different studies and lessons in perspective and in logical relationship

[1]See Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Our Children and Our Schools* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950). A wonderful account of a group of Bank Streeters (Lucy Mitchell, Barbara Biber, Charlotte Winsor and others) working in one public school in New York City with about half the teachers, the principal, and eventually with the curriculum writers of the Board of Education of New York City. Together they developed curriculum using the immediate environment of a school as the raw material. Yet today we like to think of this as a brand new idea.

> to one another and to the world. To the pupil, they are likely to be curiously mysterious things which exist in school for some unknown purpose, and only in school.[2]
>
> The pressing problem with respect to "subject-matter" was accordingly to find those things in the direct present experience of the young which were the roots out of which would grow more elaborate, technical, and organized knowledge in later years. *The solution of the problem is extremely difficult; we did not reach it; it has not yet been reached and in its fullness will never be reached.* But at all events we tried to see the problem and the difficulties which it presented. *(Dewey School,* pp. 468-69, emphasis added)

Creating a curriculum which would be based on children's personal experiences and from there would lead out "into the future and into a wider and more controlled range of interests" (ibid., p. 469) was the problem of subject matter to which the school addressed itself. It is essentially the same problem of subject matter to which every teacher who wishes to depart from prepackaged curricula must still address herself.

In a supportive setting, a teacher with sound knowledge of children's psychological, social, and intellectual growth and with some teaching experience can work on developing her own curriculum, especially if there is already a tradition in her school that can serve as guide or reference point. In the New York City private schools in which I trained, classes were rarely larger than 20 children, and teachers worked with assistants, student teachers, and specialists. More important, perhaps, every person at these schools from principals and teachers to cooks and janitors shared the same approach to children. Since parents chose a particular school because of its educational philosophy, they were almost always supportive. Teaching was demanding and the pay was considerably less than in the public schools, but there were ample rewards for the hard work. Teachers felt they were doing an important job which was appreciated by children, parents, and administration. They knew they could experiment and make mistakes without fear of censure. They were not only allowed but were actively encouraged to remain learners while being teachers.

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[2]Compare Colonel Francis Parker, another innovator and a contemporary of Dewey, who introduced sweeping educational reforms in Quincy, Massachusetts, when elected school superintendent. After his program received national attention he protested there was nothing novel about his approach: "I am simply trying to apply well-established principles of teaching, principles derived directly from the laws of the mind. The methods springing from them are found in the development of every child. They are used everywhere except in school" (In Lawrence A. Cremin, *Transformation of the School. Progressivism in American Education* [New York: Knopf, 1961], p. 130).

I know a teacher in New York who was paid by her private school to explore the school environment during the summer months in order to develop a first grade social studies curriculum based on trips into the neighborhood. This teacher had previously taught kindergarten, and was therefore given this opportunity to prepare herself for teaching first grade. Compare this to the experience of a Colorado teacher I know who had been teaching fourth grade for many years and who was informed two days before the opening of schools that she was to teach second grade.

Mayhew and Edwards state that it was extremely difficult to develop a course of study according to the educational principles of John Dewey. I am sure that all teachers who have tried to develop such a curriculum will agree. But in the right setting, and with the right kind of help and support, teachers have done it, and done it well. There is, however, a difficult problem looming ahead for the teacher who does not want her planned curriculum to become stale and rigid. Dewey offered his children an organized progression of studies, but within the broad design he was well aware of the needs of individual children as well as of variations from group to group. In order to be the intermediary between the child and the curriculum, the teacher has to know first how and when to lead the child "out into the future." To do this successfully, she must have a thorough acquaintance with the organized knowledge represented by the disciplines.

> Really to interpret the child's present crude impulses in counting, measuring, and arranging things in rhythmic series involves mathematical scholarship—a knowledge of the mathematical formulae and relations which have, in the history of the race, grown out of just such crude beginnings. To see the whole history of development which intervenes between these two terms is simply to see what step the child needs to take just here and now; to what use he needs to put his blind impulse in order that it may get clarity and gain force. *(Child and Curriculum,* p.17)

This is a vision Dewey found difficult to attain even in his school, with all its advantages. The vision is even further removed from teachers' reality today. Have teachers ever been trained to do this kind of job? When do they have a chance to acquire mathematical scholarship, or scholarship in any subject, for that matter? "To see what step the child needs to take just here and now. . ." describes in deceptively simple language one of the most subtle and difficult aspects of teaching. To be successful in taking the right step with a child engaged in the exploration of a topic is a highly rewarding experience for a teacher; for a learner, to be the recipient of such teaching is immensely satisfying and exciting. But how many teachers have the time, the *leisure,* or the ex-

pertise to teach like this? How many children have been lucky enough to have been taught like this even once? And how realistic is it to ask a teacher whose training does not even include the *expectation* of scholarship to be such a sensitive, knowledgeable guide?

It is not realistic, and Dewey realized this. In the third year of his school's existence he spoke at a parents' meeting about changes that the school had made since its inception. One major modification had to do with specialization on the part of the teachers; when significant changes were made in the approach to teaching, generalist teachers often could not do the job well.

> It was assumed, at first, that an all-round teacher would be the best, and perhaps it would be advisable to have one teacher teach the children in several branches. This theory, however, has been abandoned, and it has been thought well to secure teachers who are specialists by taste and training – experts along different lines. (*Dewey School*, p. 35)

Dewey was aware of the dangers when teaching is done by specialists – "each does his work independently of the other, and the unity of the child's life is thus sacrificed to the tastes and acquisitions of a number of specialists" (ibid., p. 36) – and reassured the parents that this need not occur when the different studies are controlled by reference to the same general principles. He had weighed carefully the pros and cons of letting specialists do the teaching in his school and he made this decision because he felt that the expertise provided by specialists had advantages which outweighed the possible dangers of fragmentation: "When manual training, art, science, and literature are to be taught, it is a physical and mental impossibility that one person should be competent in all these lines of work" (ibid., p. 36). Mayhew and Edwards add that his principle of "guidance by experts" was continued throughout the school's existence and was "fundamental to the plan."

The staff of Dewey's lab school found that it was much more difficult to develop a meaningful curriculum than to criticize the bad practices of the day. As an experimental school, assured of financial support, free from school board criticism or parental pressure, and by virtue of its association with a university able to draw upon human and material resources rarely available to other schools, the Dewey school was able to develop an exciting program. We get a different picture as we look at schools without all these resources and at the obstacles which teachers face if they want to bring about change in their classrooms. In most cases, the best they can expect is an administration which tolerates their efforts as long as there are no complaints from parents ("not enough basics"), from the custodial staff ("too much of a mess"), or from teachers in other classrooms ("too much noise"). Class size keeps increasing,

there is little if any money for the materials needed for children to engage in non-workbook activities, and resources and time for teachers' own learning and growth are minimal or non-existent. (There *are* many inservice courses in many schools and school systems, but they seldom if ever focus on the teachers' own need to learn about subject matter.)

Whenever teachers try to make the standard public school curriculum more meaningful to the lives of individual children, they must work hard, and usually alone. My work at the Mountain View Center for Environmental Education takes me into the classrooms of teachers who are trying to effect some change. When these teachers have taken the first big step toward "opening up" the tight structure of the typical traditional classroom; when they have struggled through the necessary reorganization of classroom space and time schedules; when they have acquired sufficient materials to keep children occupied and involved with a variety of tasks; when both teacher and children have learned to live comfortably with more movement, more noise, more surface disorder; when all this is accomplished, teachers invariably come up against the same barrier. "My children are happy," they say to me. "They like to come to school and they enjoy the activities I plan for them, but I am not yet satisfied. I like the way they are working independently but there is not enough depth and I don't know how to deepen and extend their learning."

Doing away with what you do not like—rigid conformity, lessons in units to be memorized, inflexible schedules—is relatively easy. Constructing something new that will take the place of the old is infinitely more difficult. John Dewey, carefully read, can supply today's educator with a theory which is still viable. Any system of education needs to have a philosophic basis. This is especially important for a system which advocates freedom—freedom to start learning from where you are, freedom to learn in your own way, freedom to pursue your own interests, freedom to question and challenge. Since it is easy to have something that looks like freedom but is really only a few steps removed from chaos, it is vital to understand how Dewey arrived at and justified his beliefs.

As early as 1897, when Dewey wrote *The Child and the Curriculum*, he talked about the dangers inherent in abandoning all the organization which the "old" kind of curriculum imposed, and he scolded the "child advocates," those who took their stand wholly with the child, who believed (as many "anti-establishment" people do today) that it should be only the child who determines the quantity and direction of his learning. Mayhew and Edwards addressed the difficulty of finding a middle road:

> There are two courses which are easy. One is to follow the traditional arrangement of studies and lessons. The other is to permit a free flow of ex-

periences and acts which are immediately and sensationally appealing, but which lead to nothing in particular. . . .It is forgotten that there is as much adult imposition in a "hands off" policy as in any other course, since by adoption of that course the elders decide to leave the young at the mercy of accidental contacts and stimuli, abdicating their responsibility for guidance. *(Dewey School,* p. 469)

The alternative to these two courses is the curriculum which the Laboratory School tried to develop. John Dewey found it necessary to restate and elaborate his principles in 1938 because he had come under attack for the misuse of his ideas as practiced in many so-called progressive schools. Dewey's followers had been quick to respond to his criticisms of traditional schools, but had paid scant attention to what he said was necessary to make the new kind of education work. (He would find it just as necessary to restate his principles today!) In *Experience and Education,* his Kappa Delta Phi lectures published in 1938, Dewey explicitly discusses many of the problems that had arisen due to a lack of understanding of his theories. Today, more than 35 years later, many open classrooms suffer from the same kinds of problems that existed in the progressive schools of the 1930s. Dewey leaves no doubt that a teacher must prepare, plan, and provide leadership if children are to learn in a classroom which has thrown off the traditional structure.

In planning, Dewey maintained, the educator

. . .must survey the capacities and needs of the particular set of individuals with whom he is dealing and must at the same time arrange the conditions which provide the subject-matter or content for experiences that satisfy these needs and develop these capacities. The planning must be flexible enough to permit free play for individuality of experience and yet firm enough to give direction towards continuous development of power. (*Experience,* p. 58)

On organization of subject matter Dewey argued

. . .finding the material for learning within experience is only the first step. The next step is the progressive development of what is already experienced into a fuller and richer and also more organized form, a form that gradually approximates that in which subject-matter is presented to the skilled, mature person. . . .It is the cardinal precept of the newer school of education that the beginning of instruction shall be made with the experience learners already have. . . . I am not so sure that the other condition, that of orderly development toward expansion and organization of subject-matter through growth of experience, receives as much attention. . . .Undoubtedly this phase of the problem is more difficult than the other. . . .Connectedness in growth must be [the educator's] constant watchword. (Ibid., pp. 73-75)

On "extending":

> . . .experiences in order to be educative must lead out into an expanding world of subject-matter, a subject-matter of facts or information and of ideas. This condition is satisfied only as the educator views teaching and learning as a continuous process of reconstruction of experience. This condition in turn can be satisfied only as the educator has a long look ahead, and views every present experience as a moving force in influencing what future experiences will be. . . .at every level there is an expanding development of experience if experience is educative in effect. (Ibid., pp. 87-88)

Dewey's educational philosophy speaks to me clearly and I cannot help wondering why the implementation of his theories has been so fraught with difficulties. "Experiential education" as practiced by many teachers since Dewey's days often condones almost any experience as legitimate for inclusion in the school curriculum. There is little evidence that these teachers concern themselves with the kind of planning and organization stressed by Dewey, or that they try to extend the children's learning to connect these experiences with the accumulated knowledge of their culture—the central "course of study" which Dewey tried to develop in his school.

Why have Dewey's writings been so ignored and misunderstood? Why is it so rare to see a classroom in which his theories are successfully implemented? I have seen two types of excellent classrooms. The New York classrooms described earlier had a strong social studies core curriculum, selected and developed by the teachers. If the topic was well chosen, children became deeply engrossed, learned a great deal, and developed most of their language and math skills in work related to the core. The danger in these classrooms was the creation of another kind of rigidity, an over-emphasis on one topic for an extended period to the exclusion of other interests of the children. (At a time when my son was fanatically interested in sports, collected baseball and football cards, and went to the library every week to get a new batch of books on sports personalities, his school life revolved entirely around a study of ancient Mexican culture. Could there not have been room for both?)

The other kind of classroom, modeled largely on the British infant school, provides activities more in line with the children's outside interests, and provides continuity for those children who are motivated to go further. A great deal of learning takes place in such a room, but often this kind of classroom may lack a unifying center. The curriculum addresses itself to individual children's needs and interests and in doing so may neglect activities that bring the whole group together—around a social studies theme or around some other subject of interest to most of the children. I have seen learning extended

well—when a group was studying a topic chosen by its teacher and when individual children were pursuing their own related topics with the teacher's help. But I have not seen this happen very often, and only rarely have I seen a classroom where one teacher is developing a group study and, at the same time, creating ample opportunities for individual children's work, apart from the group.

Why do we so seldom see a classroom that is equally strong in creating the social microcosm so central to Dewey's philosophy and at the same time individualizing children's learning to the degree implied in his writing on curriculum? In theory it should work, but the real-world restraints on the public school—both the number of children a teacher has to deal with and the number of hours available in one teaching day—may make this combination very difficult to achieve.

Teachers also vary in their personal styles: if an individual teacher enjoys working with groups of children and is intellectually stimulated by the group's interaction, she may not be sufficiently motivated to individualize her curriculum; or conversely, the teacher who is totally committed to meeting each child's needs may be less interested in creating the kind of group life which, almost by necessity of time, will interfere to some degree with extensions of learning for individual children. More thinking on these questions is needed.

There is another problem which faces teachers who are willing to risk taking children's interests as starting points for their curriculum rather than staying within the safety of a prescribed manual or guidebook. Dewey said: "The entire science of physics is none too much to interpret adequately to us what is involved in some simple demand of the child for explanation of some casual change that has attracted his attention" *(Child and Curriculum,* p. 16). If you add to this the "entire science" of biology and chemistry, history and literature, music and art, elementary school teaching takes on enormous dimensions. When Dewey decided to use specialist teachers in his school, it was because he realized that he could not expect this kind of teaching from even the most dedicated and experienced generalist. Yet generalist teachers can learn from experts if they have the opportunity to study with them and have access to their expertise throughout the school year. This aspect of pre- and inservice teacher training is little understood and hardly ever practiced. I believe it is absolutely essential if teachers are to learn to develop their own curriculum.

John Dewey is inspiring when he talks about young children and their ways of learning. But he was not in the schools, day after day, with 20 or 30 children, struggling to put his theories into practice. Throughout the history of progressive education, teachers have had great difficulty practicing what

Dewey and other educational reformers have preached. The problem of bridging the gap between theory and practice, between "what to do and why" and "how to do it," remains. Perhaps it would be good to impose a moratorium on current educational research and to ask, instead, for careful documentations of successful teaching practices. A thorough understanding of theory, of the "what" and "why" is most important. But if teachers do not get help with the "how," if theoreticians continue to ignore the details of daily classroom life, if researchers remain aloof from the real world in which young children live, we will never find out how teachers can learn to do well what Dewey and others have been recommending for so many years.

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PYGMALION IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT: ISSUES FOR STAFF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

by Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin of the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, is a social scientist specializing in the evaluation of educational innovation and "planned change" programs for schools. She was one of the investigator-authors of Rand's change agent study.

There seem to be two reasons underlying the current resurgence of interest in staff development. One has to do with student enrollment decline. More and more districts are faced with the reality of fewer students and the consequent reality of a stable and possibly stale staff. Districts have fewer opportunities to "hire" enthusiasm and new ideas, but instead must consider the professional development needs of the staff they already have. A second reason is that research is finally confirming what practitioners knew all along: new technologies or "validated" programs or more money really aren't panaceas. Researchers are now recognizing that the "best" educational

products in the hands of unmotivated or inadequately trained teachers are unlikely to fulfill their promise. Thus, the research community is beginning to turn its attention from assessing the effectiveness of education products to the training and professsional development needs of teachers.

While staff development is increasingly recognized as a critical concern for school districts—not just a frill or an extra—there also seems to be consensus that what we have now in the way of staff development isn't very good. Teachers, administrators, researchers, and bureaucrats all agree that current staff development or inservice programs are irrelevant, ineffective, and generally a waste of time and money.

There also seems to be general agreement that there isn't any conceptual model underlying most staff development programs. As we at Rand have looked around at school districts, "staff development" appears to be a hodgepodge of incompatible workshops and courses. What would an effective model of staff development look like? For the past three and a half years, Rand has been doing research on how change comes about in local school districts. The change agent study[1] involved survey research in 293 projects in school districts across the country (ESEA Title III, Innovative Projects; ESEA Title VII, Bilingual Projects; Vocational Education Act, 1968 Amendments, Part D, Exemplary Programs; Right-to-Read Program). Intensive field work was done in 30 of the districts. As we reviewed the data collected from these very different local innovative projects, one thing came through clearly: successful change agent projects seem to be functioning as staff development projects.

Our findings about the components of successful change agent projects offer clues for staff development. Briefly, we found that it wasn't the amount of money spent on a project, nor the particular project technology, that was consistently or significantly related to project success. Instead, two local factors were most important in determining the outcomes of local change agent projects. The first was the degree of institutional support from administrators. Did the district really want the project? Were they supporting teachers' efforts? Were the principals behind it? The second factor related to project outcomes is the locally chosen implementation strategy. By implementation strategy we mean those *local* choices about how to put a project into practice. For example, the same reading program could be implemented very differently at different sites.

A number of components of local implementation strategy emerged as particularly and consistently important to successful change agent projects. One

[1]Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. IV: The Findings in Review*, R-1589/4-HEW (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, April 1975).

was *local materials development*. Staff in successful projects seem to spend a lot of time developing their own curriculum materials. As we tried to understand why this contributed to success, it seemed to have less to do with the virtue of the pedagogical product but more to do with the exercise of development—learning by doing, or reinventing the wheel, depending on your point of view. A second component was *on-line planning*. By this we mean a kind of project planning that began a month or two before the project started and continued all the way through it, not just during the first years. This planning mechanism provided a format—usually regular staff meetings—in which teachers or administrators could say, "Something is not working," or "It is working," or "We should revise our objectives," and so on. This mode of planning allows project guidelines and methods to be revised over time, based on the changing needs and experience of project staff.

Related to on-line planning was *concrete ongoing training*, that is, training that continued through the first, second, and third year of the project. This training was typically offered by *local* people; it was concrete and hands-on.

Another element that occurred in successful projects was something we have called *critical mass*. By this we mean that the number of people collaborating on a project was sufficient to provide participants with stimulation, encouragement, and moral support.

What do these components of successful implementation strategies have in common? How do they relate to staff development? First of all, they are concrete and highly relevant to ongoing classroom activities. They are typically user-identified; through ongoing planning, teachers played an important role in identifying what their training should be. These strategies are flexible and able to change as needs change. They support individual learning. In short, they seem to describe an "heuristic model" of project implementation.

How does a successful strategy differ from less successful local implementation devices? Unsuccessful projects consistently relied on outside consultants. This is not to argue that consultants per se cannot be useful. Rather it is to suggest that they can be used in such a way as to foreclose important staff learning opportunities. For example, we found that where outside consultants were used to deliver "truth and knowledge"—to play a "guru" role—they usually were not terribly effective. They were not able to offer advice that was concrete enough or deal with the immediate and practical problems faced by the project staff.

Similarly, we saw that packaged materials could also be used inappropriately. Where packages were brought into a district and just imposed on project staff, implementation tended to be superficial. Heavy reliance on outside consultants and packages seemed to preempt or co-opt the very difficult

but necessary process of individual learning. Any parent can attest to the ineffectiveness of *telling* a child that the stove is hot. That general approach does not appear to work with adults meeting new challenges either.

Another characteristic of unsuccessful projects was the placement of the bulk of the training "up front"—preservice, or in the early phases of the first year of the project. Although this essentially "one-shot" training can offer certain economies, it is usually ineffective because teachers don't know *what* they need to know until they need to know it. Furthermore, training needs of staff change over time—often in ways that are difficult to anticipate at the beginning. Also, even where project directors did anticipate training needs correctly, and tried to offer a "complete orientation," teachers usually couldn't understand *why* they needed certain skills or information until problems arose directly from classroom experience.

Stepping back from these findings, our change agent research suggests that there are two very different ways to view teacher training. One could be described as a deficit model. At the extreme, staff development or change agent projects that subscribe to this model supply "teacher-proof" packages. They attempt to do away with the problems in the process by doing away with the process. But by doing away with the process, chances to learn are also lost. A second model is a development model, and focuses on problem-solving methodologies. That is, instead of trying to do away with the process, this model tries to give teachers the skills to identify and solve the problems themselves. The change agent study conducted by Rand clearly supports the second model as the more effective and enduring approach to staff training.

How transferable are these lessons drawn from change agent project experiences to district staff development programs? We asked ourselves the same question halfway through the change agent project, and began another study which involved very intensive field work in five school districts.[2] What we've learned from this experience suggests that these lessons are very transferable indeed.

As we looked at these school districts we saw two distinctly different models and perspectives on staff development. One way to summarize them briefly is to say one worked and one didn't. Our observations are very consonant with the change agent study. First of all, the unsuccessful district staff development strategy was, consciously or not, built on a deficit model. It assumed that the problems in the school or the problems with the teacher had to do with inadequate information and inadequate skills. The deficit model assumed that if

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[2]Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, principal investigator, "Implementing Innovations in Public Schools," National Institute of Education Grant G-74-0055 to the Rand Corporation. Work in progress.

"correct" information and skills could only be imparted to teachers, they would be more effective in the classroom. Not surprisingly, these staff development programs were typically "top-down" treatments. They operated under the implication that experts in the central office clearly understand exactly what teachers' needs are, and so will prescribe a regimen of programs for the deficient. We saw little staff participation either in the determination of the format, or in decisions about what should be offered. These less effective staff development programs, typically, were standardized across the district. A validated-product reading workshop or a sure-fire math workshop would be given, which all teachers of the appropriate grade level were required to attend. Little or no attention was paid to an individual teacher's needs or to a particular school's needs, and little or no release time was provided for teachers. There was reliance on the lecture/consultant format for "delivery-of-truth-and-knowledge." The major incentives for participants in systems using this model seemed to be earning credit on the salary scale or fulfilling the relicensing regulations.

What did the teachers think about all of this? They thought the workshops weren't relevant. They thought the district didn't care about the staff development program. Teachers in these systems felt that the district administration was participating in some sort of ritual—that staff development wasn't really a priority for the district. Teachers thought that if the district really thought staff development was important, they would provide release time and encourage teacher involvement in the design of the program. So teachers perpetuated the ritual, too. One teacher's attitude was "I may have to go and I'll collect my $30, but I don't have to listen."

The result, as we looked around districts where models like this operated, was a continuation of the same old practices. Though these same old practices were sometimes carried out with new technologies, very little that was different was actually going on in the classroom. An important reason why these programs operated as they did has to do with district *expectations* concerning the staff and their ability to grow and develop. This phenomenon of the self-fulfilling prophecy could be called "Pygmalion in the District."[3] One superintendent supplied a perfect example of the kind of district attitude that can frustrate even well-conceived staff development programs. We asked him, "Where do your innovative ideas come from? What part do teachers play in determining new projects?" In what had to be an unguarded moment, he

[3] "... one person's expectation for another person's behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made." Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, *Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupils' Intellectual Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. vii.—Ed.

replied, "Not from teachers! We don't expect to get ideas from teachers! They're just routine people, doing a routine job." I don't think it is any surprise that in that district, teachers saw themselves that way, too. They saw themselves as functionaries, and they saw no reason to go beyond the usual, "adequate" classroom practices.

What, then, does an effective district approach to staff development look like? A persistently observed phenomenon in districts that seemed to us to have an effective staff development program was that they didn't have a program. What they had was a *point of view* that pervaded the whole district—a set of expectations about the role of teachers, their professional needs, and their responsibility for solving problems in the classroom. There was a perspective in these districts that teachers are professionals; this perspective generated a number of very different activities that served to promote staff development. For one, these districts made a very real point of giving discretionary funds to principals and teachers. When I mention this policy, some school people reply, "Yes, that's nice, but that was in the fat times." Not so. Last spring, I sat through the budget-paring process in a California school district, and I watched them shave $5,000,000 off their budget. But one item that everyone—from school board members and administrators on down—agreed could not be cut was the discretionary funds. This district has a point of view about staff development. The point of view is, if you are going to hold teachers and principals responsible for what happens in their school, they have to have the resources and the authority to do something about it.

A second observation we made in districts that seemed to have effective staff development was the existence of teacher centers that served a variety of functions for teachers. One characteristic of these effective teacher centers was that they were attractive; they weren't broom closets. They were comfortable, and they gave the impression the district was really putting its money behind its rhetoric. Where these teacher centers worked, they provided the context for useful peer interaction, for cross-fertilization, and for peer evaluation. These informal activities, in our judgement, were more important than any of the new technologies or programs that were part of the formal center activities.

Third, we observed that districts with effective staff development made no attempt to offer a standardized district program. There were few district-wide lectures or workshops. Instead, emphasis was on small groups, for instance, groups of about four to eight within a school working collaboratively on the same need. Fourth, they used local resource people to guide their innovative efforts whenever possible. Fifth, these districts used joint governance to determine staff development needs and activities. For a number of reasons, joint governance between teachers and administration seems to be critical to staff

development programs. For example, it became increasingly clear to us that different people in the system have very different perspectives on where teachers are and what their needs are. A program decision structure which incorporates varying perceptions about what teachers need is more likely to receive support and commitment from all those involved.

A sixth characteristic of an effective staff development approach has to do with release time. I still remain to be convinced that providing release time is an insurmountable obstacle. I have seen districts that through the cooperation of parents or the school board have been able to juggle schedules and provide this time. The provision of release time seems critical for at least two reasons. One, teaching requires an enormous amount of physical and psychic energy; it is unrealistic to expect teachers to undertake significant professional growth activities entirely in the evenings or on weekends. Second, provision of release time seems to provide a "signal" to teachers that the district takes their professional development seriously and that they should take it seriously as well. Clearly, there has to be some kind of combination of personal time and release time, but if staff development programs are to contribute to the vitality and quality of a district's educational program, release time is an issue that cannot be swept under the rug.

What were the results of these apparently successful staff development programs? For one, it seemed to us that in districts offering programs that stressed the professionalism of teachers, there was less variation in the quality of classroom practices. To be sure, there were still schools that were more, or less, effective, but the range of variation was closer. However, while there was greater uniformity in the quality of services, there was enormous diversity in classroom practices both within and among schools. Another result of this approach to staff development was a high level of teacher-initiated innovation. In one district, for example, every school had a teacher-initiated project. The money—only $50 or $100—came from discretionary funds. The presence of these innovative projects provided strong testimony that the teachers in this district were stimulated, constantly growing, and evaluating themselves.

Another apparent result of successful staff development efforts was that teachers knew about what was happening in other schools; an unusual amount of cross-pollination seemed to take place. Finally, an important indicator of productive staff development was that the school district was organized to respond to teacher ideas or problems in a supportive and timely fashion. Open channels of communication allowed district support personnel to function effectively and promptly.

In summary, the effective district staff development model, just like the successful change agent model, appears to be an heuristic one. It provides a

variety of options, it has a flexible program format, it stresses individual and small-group learning, it's concrete, it's directly tied to ongoing activities. It assumes that staff development is an adaptive, learning process. Interestingly, the effective staff development program also appears to acknowledge some general precepts of learning theory—first of all, that learners have different needs at different times. A second precept is that learners themselves must know what it is they need to know. Third, learners must be willing, and they must have incentives (we have seen very few conventional rewards for taking inservice courses that actually operate as incentives for learning). Last, learners must be able: the structure and format of staff development must support learning, and teachers must have enough energy left after work to go on learning. But even the best planned staff development program doesn't seem to work in the long run unless the district administrators explicitly see teachers as professionals and visibly support teachers' efforts to learn and grow. The "Pygmalion" effect is a powerful one. In the final analysis, effective staff development depends much more on the district's point of view about teachers as learners than on the specifics of the staff development program.

EVALUATING TEACHER CENTERS*

by Sharon Feiman

Sharon Feiman is assistant professor of education at the University of Chicago where she directs the Elementary Teacher Education Program. She is a member of the advisory board of the Teacher Curriculum Work Center, an independent teachers' center in Chicago.

Many people believe that teacher centers (teaching centers, teachers' centers) are a good thing; however, there is little clarity or agreement about what they are good for, and how their impact should be assessed. Part of the confusion stems from the fact that the label "teacher center" is applied to widely diverse operations. As Allen Schmieder points out, the term "might just as well refer to three teachers opening a store front in Harlem as to a state-controlled network designed to serve literally thousands of teachers and other educational personnel" (1974, p. 6).

A critical reading of the literature discloses striking differences in the rhetoric used by teacher center advocates, differences which suggest that behind various types of centers lie rather incompatible assumptions. Some advocates borrow the language and logic of behavioral psychology, systems

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analysis and management planning. They speak of cost/effective settings for retooling teachers. Others use the lexicon of humanistic psychology; still others, developmental learning theory. These latter advocates talk of supportive environments where teachers can learn on their own and from each other, and integrate this learning into their personal and professional lives.

Until now, most efforts to differentiate teacher centers have relied on structural features; for example, how and by whom they are organized and governed. I believe that what basically differentiates teacher centers is not so much the organizational forms they take but the assumptions on which those forms are built. In other words, associated with different kinds of centers are certain beliefs about what teachers are like, who should control their education and training, how they can best be helped to improve their work. Ultimately these perspectives stem from different views of the teaching/learning process.

Although teacher centers are a relatively new invention, the educational differences they manifest are quite familiar. It is possible, therefore, to look at teacher centers in terms of three prevailing educational ideologies. The labels "behavioral," "humanistic," and "developmental" have been adopted because they suggest a set of interpretive frameworks which can help clarify differences in center beliefs, programmatic features, and approaches to evaluation.[1]

"Behavioral" Centers

The "behavioral" type of center belongs to the technical tradition in teacher education, which focuses on the more molecular aspects of the teacher's work. It is assumed that teaching is amenable to behavioral analysis and skills training. Outcomes are generally defined in terms of specific teaching behaviors, and performance of these behaviors is considered the most valid measure of teacher competence.

The U.S. Office of Education is primarily responsible for casting the teacher center concept into a behavioral frame of reference. The initial formulation, which appeared in the late '60s, was based on a two-year study of ways to improve the preparation of inner city teachers (Smith, 1969). The study recommended that a national network of "training complexes" be established on "neutral" ground between schools and universities to provide

[1]These labels were "borrowed" from Lawrence Kohlberg and Rochelle Mayer, "Development as the Aim of Education," *Harvard Educational Review* 42,4 (November 1972): 449-496. For other ideological typologies see Graham Nuthall and Ivan Snook, "Contemporary Models of Teaching," in *Second Handbook of Research on Teaching*, ed. Robert M. Travers (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973); and Israel Scheffler, "Philosophical Models of Teaching," in *The Concept of Education*, ed. Richard S. Peters (New York: Humanities Press, 1967).

systematic training in the tasks of teaching. As the idea was elaborated, the notion of "neutral" territory came to mean an organization that was operationally responsive to member institutions and not dominated by any one of them. The organization did not have to operate from any one place. In addition to skills training, the functions of the training complex came to include serving as a "regional delivery system for educational innovation" and as a coordinating mechanism for federal and state programs directed at improving local educational systems (Cohen and Lichtenberg, 1970).

The National Teacher Center Project, created in 1971 in the Office of Education, encouraged universities, state education agencies and local education agencies to establish collaborative, comprehensive teacher training programs responsive to public school needs. Four pilot centers—or complexes—received planning grants to develop programs which would (1) deliver validated practices and processes from educational research to public schools; (2) improve the quality and delivery of inservice education; (3) promote better needs assessment and priorities assignment in local areas; (4) create some form of collaboration in training programs for all school personnel (Covert et al., 1974).

A major assumption contained in this charge is that teaching can be improved by changing the power relationships among educational institutions, specifically by increasing the power of local school districts, teacher organizations and state departments in relation to colleges of education, which traditionally controlled teacher education. Since this paper addresses the educational mission of teacher centers, the effectiveness of multi-institutional collaboration as a strategy for teacher renewal will not be discussed here. Matthew Miles has considered this issue (1975). It is worth noting, however, that concerns about multi-institutional collaboration, rather than the content and process of training, dominate most of the literature on behaviorally-oriented center complexes.

A second assumption embedded in the National Teacher Center Project is the view that educational problems can be solved by technology, and more specifically that teaching will improve when school personnel learn about the latest products of educational research and development. Philip Jackson (1971) has called this the "defect" approach to inservice work because it begins with a judgment of teachers' weaknesses, usually diagnosed by an outsider, and proceeds to suggest a remedy, usually through a training program designed to change specific aspects of the teacher's classroom behavior. Since major weaknesses are thought to result from ignorance about new developments in instructional techniques and materials, the purpose of inservice training is to repair those defects by providing the necessary exposure.

Teachers are expected to adopt the techniques and materials presented because experts developed them and authorities selected them.

One example of how these assumptions can be translated into programs is provided by the Rhode Island Teacher Center, a statewide component within the National Teacher Center Project. The Rhode Island Teacher Center is governed by a board of directors composed of representatives of higher education institutions, local school administrators, teachers, the community, and the State Department of Education. This policy-making board is directly responsible to the Commissioner of Education. The Center is located in the State Department and managed by a director and an assistant director with the help of managers for the main components: Needs Assessment; Competency-Based Teacher Education/Certification; Alternative Learning Center. According to the external evaluators, the organizational model reflects the view that "problem-solving should be initiated from the perspective of the school district or school, and that school administrators should make the lion's share of decisions about what administrator, teacher and student skills should be improved." (Covert et al., p. 31)

The Rhode Island Center "provides technical assistance to effect the efficient use of resources by local education agencies." At annual "awareness conferences" sponsored by the Teacher Center, local administrators are given the opportunity to view "proven products" and then to prepare proposals requesting training in product "installation." The main component of the delivery system for Teacher Center services is the program development consultant, who serves as a link between local districts and Center resources. These resources range from help in finding out what skills teachers lack, to information about validated programs, to help in choosing and installing proven products. The consultant also advises the local education agency about federal and state funding priorities and assists in the preparation of local proposals.

A major aim of the Rhode Island Teacher Center is to provide inservice training to educators across the state. Once products are selected, individuals from schools and universities are trained in their use, and they in turn offer training to local teachers. The list of inservice training programs conducted by the Alternative Learning Center is actually a list of behavioral-objectives-based instructional systems, modules for training teachers in specific teaching skills (e.g., mini-courses), and programmed learning packages for teaching children basic skills (e.g., Individually Prescribed Instruction in Math).

Couched in the language of systems management, the descriptions of the Rhode Island Teacher Center convey an impression of efficiency and rationality: educational problems can be solved by diagnosing needs, selecting

an appropriate product, and training school people to use the product. The neutrality and the generality of the descriptions, however, conceal both the moral and the human dimensions of Center activity. How indeed does the Rhode Island Teacher Center deal with the concrete realities of schools?

Some insights are provided by the 1973-74 evaluation of the pilot teacher centers, which the Office of Education commissioned from the Education Research Center at the University of Virginia. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine the extent to which the goals of the national project and the local centers were being realized. The evaluators expressed some reservations about the appropriateness of collecting summative data when the Teacher Center program was only two-and-one half years old; nevertheless, they designed a survey to determine the impact of a sample of program components on local administrators and teachers.

From interviews with project managers and an analysis of documents like the Rhode Island Teacher Center Project Terminal Objectives List, a set of impact variables was derived and a structured interview developed. In general, the interview sought to determine client awareness of the availability of Teacher Center services, their use of these services and the reactions of participants to training.

One of the components selected for impact assessment was the Alternative Learning Center, the inservice arm of the Rhode Island Teacher Center. Since the Center serves a state-wide clientele, a stratified random sample of persons to be interviewed was selected without considering whether the respondent had actually used the services of the Center.[2] The sample included 10 superintendents, 55 administrators and 333 teachers. Among the findings reported were the following:

> . . .27 percent of the total sample indicated that they had participated in from one to eight different inservice training sessions sponsored by the RITC. This included 78 percent of the superintendents, 39 percent of the administrators, 1 percent of the secondary school teachers and 22 percent of the elementary school teachers sampled. About 40 percent of the respondents reported that they received graduate credit for their time. The participants generally said that the training met their needs, but 60 percent indicated that this need still existed after the training session. On a Likert Scale of one to five ("ineffective" to "extremely effective"), the effectiveness of the training presentations was given a mean rating of 3.6 and the materials used in the sessions were well received. . . . The groups most favorable to training were the superintendents, followed by the

[2]A stratified random sample based on the size of ten school districts was selected – one high school, two junior highs, and three elementary schools from each district. Respondents included the district superintendent and the principal from each school, and a quota sample of from one to six teachers.

> administrators. . . .The outcomes of this training included: more individualized instruction; improved teacher-prepared visual aids; better classroom management; and improved relationships between administrators and teachers. (Covert et al., p. 22-23)

From such local findings, the evaluators tried to determine whether the four goals of the National Teacher Center Project were being met. Did the centers deliver validated practices and programs to schools and improve in-service education for teachers? Were better needs assessment strategies promoted in local education agencies along with more collaboration in teacher training? Their response is a qualified "yes." The data indicate that these things occurred to varying degrees, but they do not permit any judgment about their quality or any specification of their effects. While it can be shown that formal needs assessment took place, there is no indication that programs were developed or priorities determined on the basis of such assessments. Similarly the availability of inservice training can be documented; however, no judgment about whether it represents an improvement can be made. The fact that training was offered in a wide variety of validated innovative programs is taken as evidence that "inservice training was made more relevant and current." The implicit assumptions that new is better, and that exposure brings improvement need to be substantiated.

Without descriptions of actual training activities, analyses of what specific needs they addressed, and more precise definitions of their effects, it is hard to interpret the findings in this evaluation. The behavioral orientation itself requires evaluation designs to specify behaviors sought and pinpoint the extent to which they are produced by particular training interventions. Surely, information about why products were selected—that is, what inadequacies they were supposed to remedy and how they were presented—would provide a more meaningful context for predicting or explaining observable effects.

It is the special obligation of the behaviorally-oriented center to clarify how the technological approach helps solve educational problems. The large scale of these center complexes challenges the evaluator concerned about the *quality* as well as the *delivery* of goods and services and the *significance* as well as the *visibility* of their effects.

"Humanistic" Centers

The humanistic orientation is often symbolized by using the possessive form "teachers' center." According to Tom Lickona and Peg Hasch (1976, p. 450), "teachers' centers typically try to increase teachers' sense of control over their

professional development and strengthen their belief that they have the internal resources to continue their growth and to do their job well." Kathleen Devaney underscores the personal emphasis of the humanistic orientation by describing a teachers' center as "a program providing continuing education for practicing teachers (mostly elementary teachers) which aims to be responsive to *teachers' own* definitions of their continuing learning needs" (1975, p. 22). Many humanistic centers owe their inspiration to British teachers' centers, which have been publicized as "local physical facilities and self-improvement programs organized and run by teachers" (Bailey, 1971, p. 146). The most characteristic and significant aspect of these centers is their underlying philosophy, which rests on several assumptions: (1) innovation and reappraisal of work in the classroom will come about mainly through the efforts and activities of practicing teachers; (2) there exists among teachers a vast reservoir of untapped expertise and experience; (3) centers can provide a neutral arena in which teachers can work relatively free of constraints and pressures and the hierarchical assumptions often present in other training institutions; (4) centers should be organized and controlled as far as possible by the teachers themselves (Burrell, 1976, p. 423).

If, as the humanistic orientation suggests, teachers have the internal resources and motivation to improve, all they need is the "right" kind of environment in which to grow. There is a general belief that "the homemade, helpful atmosphere of the teachers' center, featuring hands-on learning and peer teaching, can release the ingenuity and increase the self-confidence of those teachers whose problem solving talent has not been nourished in conventional teacher education programs" (Devaney and Thorn, 1975, p. 21). Presumably, a teacher who learns in a setting where it is safe to acknowledge professional inadequacies and seek help will be far more likely to create a classroom setting where students will feel comfortable asking for help rather than evading work.

Because "humanistic" centers are primarily concerned with supporting teachers and responding to their "real" needs, they place great stock in teachers' voluntary participation and personal testimony as a valid measure of their effectiveness. Statements gathered from participants in these kinds of centers do suggest that teachers feel more confident and supported as a result of their center experiences. Typical are the following examples taken from a recent survey at the Grassroots Center, Cortland, New York: "I gained faith in myself," "It gave me the courage to try"; "I've gained confidence in my ability to make and do many things"; "I've discovered talents I didn't know I had" (Scheers, 1974).

A concern for teachers' personal development and a faith in the efficacy of

a psychologically supportive learning environment are reflected in the proposal of the Teacher Curriculum Work Center. Located in a YMCA in Chicago's Southside, the Teacher Curriculum Work Center is an independent organization not affiliated with a school district or university.

> At the simplest level, the Center is a comfortable, relaxing place for teachers to come after school and do their regular work and planning. It is also a place where teachers can bring their teaching problems and find sympathetic listeners and concrete suggestions.
>
> . . .the five of us who staff the Center are committed to "open education." We are vitally interested in seeing the expansion of viable choices for children and teachers within any classroom. . .
>
> . . .we are also committed to the use of concrete manipulative materials within the classroom and we encourage teachers to make their own teaching materials.
>
> . . . the Center is an open classroom for adults. It is an informal, supportive learning environment in which teachers make choices, pursue interests, explore new ideas, techniques and materials according to their own individual styles, priorities and needs. (Bradbury, 1972, p. 1)

The Center is open every day after school, one evening a week, and all day Saturday. During these "drop-in" hours, teachers come voluntarily, select their own activities, and work at their own pace. The main form of instruction consists of unprogrammed encounters between staff and teachers, teachers and teachers, teachers and materials. This indirect method of teaching is a subtle blend of self-motivated learning on the teachers' part, setting of expectations by staff through the environment and their personal style, and peer and staff reinforcement.

A descriptive study of the Teacher Curriculum Work Center, conducted by this writer two years after the Center opened its doors, characterizes it as "a supportive community for teachers attempting innovations in curriculum and classroom organization" (1975a, p. 37). The study attempts to capture the Center's "way of life" by documenting aspects of its program and exploring the viewpoints of founders and friends. Since teachers come to the Center voluntarily and select their own "treatments," on-site observations were needed to disclose the nature and quality of opportunity in the Center and the ways teachers availed themselves of those opportunities. It was assumed that knowing what teachers actually did in the Center would help clarify its functions and suggest criteria for assessing its effects.

After an intensive period of watching and describing what teachers were

doing, an observation schedule was developed. It contains six categories for describing physical activity (note-taking; browsing; manipulating material; replicating material; constructing material; watching) and seven categories for describing verbal behavior (social; technical; Center talk; school-general; classroom-specific; curricular concrete; curricular conceptual).

The data depict the Center, at least during open hours, as a "make-and-take" operation. The most frequent type of activity involved teachers replicating materials on display and the most frequent type of talk focused on how something was made. Only a small percentage of the observed interactions concerned broad curricular issues or specific classroom problems. While many of the materials which teachers make at the Center imply new approaches to teaching and learning, there was little talk about their uses, extensions or implications. Obviously, observations alone cannot reveal whether teachers are seeing relationships or drawing connections between experiences in the Center and activities in their classroom. It seems, however, that this kind of thinking is not directly encouraged during open hours (Feiman, 1974b).

From "humanistic" centers like this one, teachers probably take into their classrooms new activities, methods and materials. Since this outcome has already been associated with a behaviorally-oriented center, it brings to mind a possibility, suggested by Devaney, that "what goes on in a teachers' center may be organic and funky rather than technological and plastic, but in sum it's still skills training." (1975, p. 21).

Observation studies can help centers reflect on whether their resources, both human and material, are being used in productive ways. This is particularly appropriate for centers which adopt a responsive rather than a prescriptive stance toward teachers and rely heavily on the climate and content of the environment. Although the setting in and of itself cannot transmit the substance of new learnings, the overall tone of informality and openness may influence the degree to which teachers are motivated to avail themselves of the various resources in the service of their own learning. *It is the special responsibility of the "humanistic" center to verify—not just assume—the relationship between learning atmosphere and learning influences.*

"Developmental" Centers

A "developmental" center sets out to stretch teachers beyond their own "starting points" to new levels of understanding and more effective modes of practice by encouraging them to reflect on their teaching and to clarify and assess the assumptions which inform it. Development implies movement

toward greater adequacy, as defined by some set of principles, not just any change in behavior. Development involves qualitative shifts in the ways teachers organize experience in their heads and in their classrooms. A center committed to teacher development has some conception of the kinds of teacher behaviors which indicate more developed stages of professional functioning and some ideas about the kinds of physical, emotional, and intellectual support likely to encourage this growth.

Because "humanistic" and "developmental" centers share certain values and programmatic features, they are often classified together. For example, the 1975 study by Devaney and Thorn, based on interviews at some 40 teachers' centers, most of them associated with informal classrooms, blurs the distinctions in the following statement of "shared premises":

> Teachers must be more than technicians, must continue to be learners. Long-lasting improvements in education will occur through inservice programs that identify individual starting points for learning in each teacher, build on teachers' motivation to take more not less responsibility for curriculum and instruction decisions in the school and classroom, and welcome teachers to participate in the design of professional developmental programs. (p. 7)

In this analysis I propose some fundamental differences. The "humanistic" center assumes that teacher development will occur naturally as long as teachers get the help they seek and have an opportunity to pursue their own interests in a rich and supportive environment. The developmentalist recognizes that experiences in a teachers' center do not automatically stimulate continued growth. For that to happen teachers need time, motivation, and the tools to conceptualize their experiences and translate them into personal meanings which change their beliefs and their teaching behavior.

Both humanists and developmentalists agree that teachers must be allowed to begin at their own beginnings, draw on their personal strengths, and learn at their own pace. In a "developmental" center, however, the emphasis is not only on giving practical advice and support but also on encouraging independent initiative and critical judgment; not only on responding to immediate needs but also on creating awareness of basic needs which require serious work over time.

The concerns of a "developmental" center dictate systematic, long-term involvement with teachers. This style contrasts with the spontaneous encounters of short duration characteristic of "humanistic" centers, as well as with the prescribed training in educational products characteristic of "behavioral" centers.

Most developmentally oriented centers offer some blend of advisory service together with curriculum workshop activities housed in a permanent location. However, it is the advising services which best typify the developmental approach. Unlike the program development consultant (Rhode Island Teacher Center) who helps "install" products and programs which teachers may not have selected, "the advisor does not try to sell ready-made programs, packages or methods." David Armington, the first director of the Education Development Center Follow Through program, which used this role as the mainspring of the program, defined the role in the following way: "His [the advisor's] job is to respond to the demands of the situation. He does not tell people what they should do, but tries to extend what they are capable of doing" (1970, p. 3).

While the work of the advisor varies from school to school and teacher to teacher, a general pattern has emerged from the experiences of Education Development Center, the Open Corridors Program, and several other advisories (Devaney, 1974). Typically, the advisor spends a day or two each week in the school, working with teachers and children in classrooms, sharing lunch and planning periods, holding individual conferences, giving after-school workshops on curriculum materials.

In the spring of 1972, Anne Bussis, Edward Chittenden and Marianne Amarel conducted in-depth interviews with 60 elementary school teachers who were attempting to implement more open or informal approaches to instruction. The interviews focused on teachers' beliefs about children, curriculum, and their working environment (1976). Of the 60 teachers, 46 were participating in some form of advisory program, and one section of the interview focused specifically on their perceptions of support from advisors.

The methodology of this study is consistent with the rationale of the in-service programs it examined. The researchers highlight three characteristics of the philosophy and operation of "developmental" centers incorporating advisories: (1) while programs try to promote broad understandings, advisors relate to teachers over real and specific events and materials in much the same way that teachers do with children in an informal classroom; (2) understandings rest on experience, and advisory programs stress the teacher's personal learning which comes from actual classroom teaching; (3) ultimately the advisor's goal is to foster in the adult teacher, as well as in children, the capacity for self-sustained growth through purposeful actions guided by reflection. If one assumes (1) that the teacher bears the central responsibility for educational-decision-making in the classroom; (2) that decisions are affected by the teacher's beliefs about children and knowledge and learning; (3) that these beliefs or personal constructs are played out in classroom behavior, then

in-depth interviews can provide a reliable index of what teachers have gained from the inservice.

Teachers' comments in response to questions about their participation in the advisory program were coded in two ways. First, statements were coded according to the category or type of activity which the teacher perceived the advisor to be engaged in. Second, the same statements were coded according to the degree of "supportiveness" experienced by the teacher. Thirteen different categories of support were identified. They reflect a progression from a consumer or "taking in" orientation on the teacher's part, to a more active stance involving personal investment, critical judgment, conceptual reorganization.

> Advisor perceived as:
>
> A. Service and Administrative Agent . . .
> B. Extension of Teacher (helping hand· parallel activity) . . .
> C. Emotional Stabilizer and Stimulator . . .
> D. Respecter of Individuality . . .
> E. Stage Director and Demonstrator (teacher's apparent intent is to "copy" what advisor does . . .)
> F. Diagnostician and Problem-Solver . . .
> G. Provider of Alternatives . . .
> H. Explainer and Theorist . . .
> I. Modeling Agent . . .
> J. Appreciative Critic and Discussant . . .
> K. Provocative and Reflective Agent . . .
> L. Leader and Challenger . . . (p. 144)

One major finding of the study, which underscores the subtle difficulties of advising, is that individual teachers construe the same advising activity in vastly different ways. Approximately one-fourth to one-third of all perception-of-support responses *at each site* fell within the two emotional support categories (Catetory C and Category D), a finding which meshes with the finding in other research that teachers feel isolated and lack support. Category D, Respecter of Individuality, is so central to the advisory program philosophy that one could assume teachers would be particularly sensitive to its presence or absence in the advisor's way of working. Only 18% of the 460 coded responses reflected some degree of teacher discontent with the advisory service. Most of these had to do with Category D.

The interpretation of interview data in this study draws heavily on the intuitions of the researchers, and its validity depends on the relevance of their

theoretical framework. However, the validity of their findings can be checked by means of classroom observations: as teachers evolve a more sophisticated *concept* of open education, do they also implement more coherent and educationally sound *practices*? A developmental perspective on inservice education carries an implicit requirement for longitudinal studies, which describe and evaluate changes over time. *It is the special obligation of the "developmental" center to establish congruence between teachers' reported beliefs and observable classroom practices and to substantiate changes of long-term or lasting value in teachers' professional lives.*

Implications

Ideological differences among teacher centers lead to quite different ways of posing and answering questions about their effectiveness. They also lead to different treatments and expected outcomes. There is no consensus about the best ways to help teachers improve in their work, because teachers and classrooms vary as much as the conceptions about how they ought to be. Nor is there adequate empirical evidence to justify any ideological persuasion about teachers' learning. All centers are ultimately interested in knowing (and showing) that their efforts make a difference in the classroom. The problem with comparisons is that centers neither look for the same kinds of evidence nor interpret what they see in the same way. What one center views as the first step in a developmental process, another may consider the final destination.

Differentiating "behavioral," "humanistic," and "developmental" centers serves three main purposes. First, it helps clarify the different ways that teacher centers have viewed their functions and designed their programs. Second, it highlights some of the concerns which flow from each perspective and have implications for evaluation. Third, the distinctions offer counter-perspectives for examining the arguments in support of any one approach.

Too often evaluation is used to provide a data base for defending or attacking a particular program at refunding time. It would be more appropriate to concentrate on formative evaluation which can contribute to program development and provide more detailed information about centers in general. There is insufficient knowledge about what is going on in different kinds of centers, why those particular activities take place, how they relate to the needs and interests of center participants, what short-term and long-range effects are produced.

The first requirement is a comprehensive and clear formulation of the theoretical bases which undergird different center operations. From this, strategies for documenting what is taught and what is learned can be devised.

Data about outcomes cannot be understood apart from descriptions of those processes which produce them.

The quality of center programs would be enhanced if centers were clearer about what they are trying to do and why, and could measure a clear picture of their expectations against an empirically-derived picture of what they are actually doing. Individual centers should develop the capacity to monitor their own activities through appropriate internal data-gathering procedures. Like-minded centers could use similar procedures to facilitate a progressive building on findings and methodologies.

But it is not enough to show simply that centers are producing effects or achieving goals which they set for themselves. Each center must also demonstrate that its accomplishment has consequences for the improvement of teaching in classrooms. Does the installation of new programs or the raising of teachers' confidence or the cultivation of critical judgment result in visibly better teaching?

Centers operate in a web of social, political and professional influences which complicate the task of assessing their worth. It is important to understand the forces which created a center in the first place and which continue to shape its program. For example, some centers represent the determination of teachers' unions to control inservice education; others reflect the shifting concerns of colleges of education from preservice to inservice teacher education; still others are caught up in causes like environmental preservation or parent education. If center leaders (and participants) can be straightforward about their educational mission, evaluators can perhaps shed more light on their accomplishments.

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ELIZABETH KELLOGG

THE ADVISORY SYSTEM AND SUPERVISION*

by Theodore Manolakes

Theodore Manolakes is professor of elementary education at the University of Illinois, Urbana. With Bernard Spodek he was co-director of an EPDA project which trained graduate fellows to work as advisors in Illinois public schools.

The advisory system differs from old style supervision in one very important way. It is based on the notion that teachers are very much concerned about improving their teaching and that they will do so provided proper support conditions exist. In addition, this view holds that teachers are professionals with talent and ability and that they do not require coercion or direction from an outside authority to achieve high quality results in their work. The advisory view places the individual teacher in control of help to be received, and assumes that he or she will use, in a support system, those elements that are of most benefit at a given time.

A second major assumption from which the advisory system evolves is the view that the teacher is the core and heart of the instructional program. Where other orientations might hold that highly planned curriculum schemes, packages, instructional materials, or new organizational plans are the key to instructional quality, this position regards the teacher to be central and assumes that teachers who are growing personally and professionally, and

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who feel encouragement to try out ideas in their work, will evolve sound and productive educational programs. The advisory system, while using the classroom as a focus and vehicle, concerns itself with aiding the teacher to move in those directions which are appropriate personally and professionally.

The advisory system also takes a long view of time in the educational process. It assumes that real growth on the part of people is a generally slow evolution, and that direct efforts to bring about dramatic changes often result in a cosmetic effect. Advisors recognize that the process is continuous, but not even-paced, in terms of when steps are taken. There are periods of high activity, and also periods of assimilation in which little apparent movement takes place. Recognition of the time requirements in teacher development is a part of the total process.

The advisory system has appeared as a consequence of two related conditions in both the United States and Great Britain. It has usually evolved in those school settings where the intention is to reform school programs rather than to maintain them, where the nature of reform has been to create classroom programs that tend to be less formal, and where teachers are encouraged to rely less on standard textbooks and curriculum. In both the United States and Britain, the growth of advisories has accompanied the development of open or informal education. This form of education places heavy responsibility on the teacher to create a productive learning environment through use of a wide variety of resources, activities, and materials. It also requires modification of the use of time and space in a classroom, and changes in teacher style, as increased amounts of interaction with children must take place in an individual or small group setting. Shifting the heart of the program from external structures to the teacher makes necessary some form of teacher support in carrying out the increased responsibility. Though the advisory system has its origins in informal education, as a conceptualization of supervision it can be readily adapted to other approaches.

Basic Advisory Functions

The advisory system has evolved rapidly and has taken many forms. At this point there is little standardization in advisory practice. Advisors vary in their relationships to schools and teachers, and the expectancies placed on them by employers and teacher-clients also vary. All of this means that a wide array of practices can be observed under the heading "advisement." In spite of this range of practices, there appear to be several basic functions common to the work of advisors. These may vary in emphasis from advisor to advisor, but must be considered as basic to advisory functioning.

The Advisor as "Seed Planter and Extender"

The discussion of advisory work up to this point might lead to the conclusion that advisors play the relatively passive role of being available to help teachers who make specific requests. Advisors do spend a considerable amount of time working with teachers on specific tasks, but they also have an educational point of view and instructional goals which they seek to see implemented. The process they use in accomplishing their goals is to be available to offer help, but at the same time to provide ideas and suggestions which the teacher may initially accept or reject. In its best form, the helping relationship which the advisor carries on also involves a dialogue between two professionals. They discuss intentions, identify problems, and weigh alternatives as part of an ongoing discussion. Advisors might not see their ideas initially accepted or implemented, but this work is nonetheless part of the seeding process. Time, interaction, and an evolving situation often lead to eventual acceptance and implementation.

The teacher who initially approaches the advisor for help with, for example, organizing interest centers in a fourth grade might have only the physical classroom reorganization as an initial goal; he or she may not have thought of the implications of this step in terms of program, use of time, and other factors. The teacher may only want to use interest centers as attractive supplements to the regular program after children have finished assigned work in texts and workbooks. The advisor will probably help the teacher organize these centers under the conditions specified, but during the process of helping will plant seeds through pointing out or demonstrating the value of substituting center activities for some of the required textbook work, and suggesting ways that time might be used more effectively. There is no guarantee that the teacher will accept these ideas initially or ever, but the possibility is increased as the relationship continues, and the teacher begins to see the potential of the centers which now exist.

It may well be that stimulating and extending the thinking of teachers about ways of improving their work is at the heart of positive advisory functioning. Without mature goals and a willingness to engage the teacher in thinking about next steps, the work of the advisor is one of blind technical engineering, and can be an aimless activity.

The Advisor as Technical Helper

A major portion of the time that advisors spend with teachers is in the technical domain. They deal with questions about individualizing instruction

in reading, keeping records in a decentralized classroom, stimulating creative writing on the part of children, or provisioning a science interest center with productive and worthwhile activities. Advisors deal with these concerns in a variety of ways. They often serve as a source of specific ideas and activities. They sometimes plan with teachers new activities or instructional units and then actually work alongside the teacher in the classroom to help implement these plans. Advisors also demonstrate techniques or activities with children and allow the teacher to observe and critique. They sometimes offer teachers feedback through visits to classrooms followed by conferences. The emphasis is not to do for the teacher, but to be a resource and aid. Always the intent of the advisor is to work toward the strengthening and growth of independence on the part of the teacher.

An important factor in the technical dimension is that of the competence and credibility of the advisor. If the advisor is to establish a relationship with teachers that is mutually productive, he or she must be viewed as interested in helping and able to help. This does not mean that advisors should be able to do anything that teachers ask, but they should make clear what they are able to help with, and be willing to assist the teacher find other sources of support when they cannot help. So the advisor, in addition to personally helping in the classroom work of the teacher, may also be a broker who identifies and obtains other resources.

The Advisor as a Personal Support Person

Advisors may vary in the technical help they bring to teachers and in the educational point of view they express, but implicit in the advisory relationship is that the advisor will be an interested and supportive person. In some classrooms, providing personal support may be the most important function advisors carry on with teachers. There may be limited need for advisory help in the seed planting and technical areas, but real need for a friendly ally with whom to talk, share problems, and receive positive encouragement. For many teachers, growth and development in professional practices carries with it risk. There is no assurance that efforts will succeed. The availability of an interested and concerned person, who is at least psychologically willing to share the risks with the teacher, is an important ingredient in the growth process.

Advisors support teachers, from a psychological standpoint, in a variety of ways. Their mere presence indicates interest and concern. Their availability when needed is important, as are the areas they choose to discuss and what they actually say. It is not that the advisor succeeds so much by lavish praise, but through concerned action.

The Advisor as Expediter

Very often the work of the advisor involves helping the teacher in just getting the job done. Institutions have policies and procedures which are developed to allow for smooth operation. However, these policies and procedures can also act as impediments to change. The problems of obtaining materials which are not usually purchased by a school district can be a sizeable roadblock. Rearranging time schedules, placing a rug in a classroom, hanging a mobile, using the corridor, or building shelves in the classroom can in many instances be contrary to established policies. Often what may appear to outsiders to be minor restrictions can act as a hindrance to teachers, and some will just give up rather than fight the system.

Advisors, who encourage teachers to try new ideas, often find themselves in a position of having to assist the teacher in seeing these ideas through. In the case of obtaining different materials, it can mean knowing how to push a requisition through quickly so that there will not be the usual six months wait for arrival. It can also mean knowing where to borrow materials immediately for the teacher to test and use. It sometimes means interceding with a higher authority to obtain permission to bend a policy or two.

Advisors who wish to encourage change and development cannot avoid taking responsibility for seeing the job through when institutional difficulties arise. The pitfall for the advisor is to accomplish this without appearing to be bent on destroying the whole framework of rules and regulations which govern schools. This impression can lead to loss of credibility with the administrative staff.

The Advisor as Informant and Communication Stimulator

Teachers, often by the nature of their work, lead insulated professional lives, which makes it very difficult for them to be aware of practices different from their own that might be useful. They also have difficulty finding out about teachers who are attempting to achieve some of the same goals. A part of the functioning of an advisor is in helping teachers know what other colleagues might be doing, and in helping teachers establish communication networks. Advisors use a variety of techniques in accomplishing this function. They can spread good ideas and practices by informing teachers with whom they work about unique activities in other rooms they visit. They can sometimes assist teachers in obtaining released time to visit other classrooms. Advisors also make it possible for teachers to communicate about common concerns. Periodic after-school sessions that create a social atmosphere in which discussion and contact can begin, or meetings focused on a topic of con-

cern, can be useful methods to encourage communication. These can be held in addition to workshops or retreats which advisors can sometimes initiate.

The role of informant and stimulator of communications is part of a process whereby the advisor attempts to broaden the number of resources and contacts available to the individual teacher, as well as to broaden individual professional horizons. To the extent that these are accomplished, the teacher's growth is influenced and dependence on the advisor is assumed to be lessened. An aim in advisement should be a changing relationship with individual teachers over time. As teachers succeed in their work and find colleagues who share interests, they continue to welcome the advisor as a friendly and concerned co-worker, but use this person in less dependent ways. They develop a good deal of direction of their own and have other sources of input and support.

Conditions Affecting Advisory Functions

Advisors work in a variety of school settings. Much of what they accomplish depends on what they bring to their work in terms of background, energy, and personality, but in some cases high qualifications may not be enough for success. Sometimes advisors will have limited success because of conditions over which they have little control. The nature of advisement and the lack of positional clout or authority limit the advisor's potential to directly change conditions. It is therefore important to recognize situational factors that are necessary for advisors to work effectively.

Interested and Supportive Administrators

Principals and other administrative personnel can have a large effect on the possibility for advisors to influence teacher growth successfully. A good deal of power to affect the professional lives of teachers resides in the administrative area. Principals can expedite and support the efforts of advisors or can very quietly nullify what they are doing through withdrawal of support. This can happen in situations where the advisor is an outsider who is sent to the school by higher authority. Often the advisor is viewed as a threat, as one who is working on goals which the principal does not accept.

If the work of the advisor is to be successful, building-level administrators may need to be involved in the selection of advisors and be in agreement with work to be accomplished from the outset. Advisors need to work with and not around administrative personnel. It is often very easy for the advisor to see the

principal as obstructing progress and to attempt to deal with teachers while ignoring the principal. This usually results in a reassigned advisor.

An Atmosphere Which Encourages Teacher Growth

There are schools where the primary function of teachers is to implement the curriculum as laid down. Curriculum planning, in these situations, prescribes which textbooks are to be used in each curricular area, and there is a strong emphasis on seeing to it that books have been covered by the end of the year. In such schools education is equated with books finished. Though few schools are this prescriptive and restrictive in terms of what teachers might do in their own classrooms, there are factors in school climate that sometimes quite subtly restrict teachers from feeling that they can try new ideas and ways of teaching children.

Advisors can be most useful in situations where there is an interest in seeing the staff develop itself and where there is an openness to new and possibly different ideas. In situations where this sort of climate exists, the need for an advisor is already apparent before he or she arrives; rather than having to establish a need for services, the advisor is put to work by teachers immediately. This may sound like an idealized and rare situation; the norm is probably somewhere between it and the highly prescriptive school. It must be stressed, however, that advisors are not magicians who can make over schools where potential for change does not exist. Districts that are considering getting on the advisory bandwagon might well examine conditions within their schools to determine if an appropriate climate for change exists before expending large amounts of money.

Time Provided for Advisement

Another factor which affects success is the opportunity provided for advisors to work with teachers in classrooms. This is related to the ratio of advisors to teachers in a given situation. There is no definitive formula for establishing an effective advisory system. The experience and traditional autonomy of teachers, the aims of advisement, and the nature of practices to be undertaken will all affect this decision. It should be apparent though that the decision will affect just what a single advisor can accomplish. If we seek a good deal of personal contact and availability to help teachers, then the number of teachers should be quite small, possibly not exceeding 25. If we seek more structured advisement and less frequent contact, it might be larger. At some point, though, the expenditure of funds for advisors becomes a waste

of money. When a district with 300 teachers employs one advisor, this will likely limit the advisor to communicating through periodic memoranda containing a few ideas, and some large group workshops. That sort of process does not seem to differ much from the traditional supervision which presently exists in many school systems, except that labels have been changed.

It should also be recognized in making decisions of this sort that all teachers within an advisor's assigned responsibility area will not make use of the advisor at the same time. New teachers and experienced teachers working on specific problems might make extensive use of advisors. Use will shift as problems are solved and relationships with other teachers are established. The number of teachers an advisor is assigned can be significantly larger than the number the advisor will be intensively dealing with at any one time. The major concern is that advisors be able to deliver on the promise that their existence in a school district implies.

Teacher Centers and Advisories

Up to this point much of the discussion about advisory functioning has dealt with the work of individual advisors and their responsibilities in relationship to teachers. The emphasis given to the advisor grows out of a strong conviction that the focal point for supporting teacher development must be the classroom and that delivering support requires the efforts of individual professionals. Teacher centers have evolved recently with many of the same intentions as advisors who work in schools directly. They are similar in that they aim to support teacher growth and change. They provide a place where teachers can come to seek advice and materials, communicate with colleagues, and work on problems. Ideally, a total advisory system has both elements present: it has personnel who are able to work directly with teachers, and a facility where teachers can come for a variety of services. In many situations advisors work out of a teacher center, using its materials and other staff in their daily work, and serving as teacher center consultants in after-school sessions and on weekends. In some ways the teacher center can be viewed as a back-up and support system for the advisor who can use its resources and direct them to teachers.

Many groups which have started by providing advisory services to teachers have found that a facility was necessary to provide fully for teacher needs; and the converse has been true as well. Groups which have started by founding teacher centers have often discovered they must extend services through an advisory function in the schools. These two entities are very closely related and complement each other operationally.

Conclusions

Advisories and teacher centers arose primarily to serve teachers attempting to change quite dramatically the form and substance of their teaching. Over time they have evolved and taken on broader functions of teacher support which are less tied to one educational viewpoint.

Advisories and teacher centers reflect a nationwide effort which may be unique in American educational history. The effort is aimed at improving educational programs through direct work with teachers and not through organizational or curricular schemes which are delivered to teachers for implementation. In a sense this effort is revolutionary. It undoubtedly meets a long-term and often-expressed need of teachers for specific help. It increases teacher autonomy through a new sense of professionalism and the power which comes from personal competence and knowledge. It affects the very structure of the educational system by bringing to teachers an increased number of alternatives for use in their classrooms, and offers teachers useful allies in the change process.

In a period of limited finances for education both at the local and federal levels, the future of advisory functions is unclear. Limitations and cutbacks in advisory services could come from the fact that they appear to be too costly, or that the form of education being pushed by officials in power makes them unnecessary. If the current trend toward highly structured instructional and systems packages and the high degree of interest in computer-based education becomes the wave of the future, the need for the evolving and autonomous professional would be lessened. There would be little need for advisors and teacher centers as they presently exist. The future of advisory systems will depend to a great extent on whether we feel that we can best educate the next generation by investing in people who are the educators, or in things which will control and prescribe for the educators.

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SELECTIONS FROM AN ADVISOR'S NOTEBOOK

by Adelaide Sproul

Adelaide Sproul, an advisor with the Greater Boston Teachers Center, has led workshops and advised in classrooms throughout the Boston area and eastern Massachusetts. Formerly, she was head of the art department at Shady Hill School in Cambridge.

The most continuous, and in many ways the most absorbing stint in my four years of advisory work was carried out in an inner city school at the request of the principal and a few of the teachers. From my first visit, 2nd November 1972, I worked regularly one day a week in this school until it closed in June 1974. Forgotten by everybody, this was a small school for kindergarten through fifth grades, housed in an old building furnished with the barest necessities of school life. When I arrived, the last desks had just been unscrewed from the floor, and the teachers were wondering how to think of rooms that had this flexibility. As we started to look at the space and move a few desks, one teacher said, "Rearranging the furniture makes me wonder about ways of teaching, and changing the way you teach makes it necessary to change room arrangement. I wonder which comes first?"

This question came up many times as this group of teachers, who were at the very beginning of change, see-sawed between the two points of departure. Further, our see-saw was often put into agitated motion by the violence and uncertainty that surrounded the school and were part of the daily life of the

children. There were many days when we were barely hanging on, as the violence in the city touched us all through the children's behavior. My role was often just to listen—to teachers, to the principal, to the children.

November 30: Long talk with principal about the apparent lack of motivation of all these children. He told me about three children in the school who saw their father shoot and kill their mother. He then left the children locked up in the apartment where they and their dead mother were found two days later. We ruminated about how to combat the hostility which develops from these lives of shock. While we were talking the principal was trying to persuade a small child to eat his cereal and a kindergarten teacher came in with two very small children to have him taste the apple sauce they had just made.

On my weekly visit I spent the school day with one or two teachers in their classrooms helping them to establish a more varied, less formal way of teaching. Sometimes I took a child out to the hall to let him draw or try to read a few words; sometimes I taught a group or the whole class an art lesson. In the afternoon I ran a discussion or workshop for the teachers.

As soon as the children left for the day the teachers, the principal, and I gathered for a work session. We explored ideas and materials, and from time to time, another advisor from the Greater Boston Teachers Center with special expertise would join us. These sessions were completely voluntary on the part of the teachers; they received no stipends or credits, and since there was no money to pay the custodian to stay overtime, we always left precipitately as he blinked the lights at four. The majority of the faculty attended the afternoon sessions, but it was months before more than four of the teachers invited me to come to their rooms.

March 29: Wild. One of the second grade kids was beaten up by his uncle in front of the class because he went to the store at recess; really beaten up with a heavy belt and not allowed to cry. Later I tried to help him read. He couldn't sit still but wanted to be near me. He can't read really, seems to have memorized the book. Listened to a third grade boy try desperately to sound out some words. He looks at the letter w and says anything that comes into his head but w.

This experience with some of the most deprived children in Boston was an important start for me as a full-time advisor; its effects have been lasting and vital. The teachers involved in this work became a strong and mutually sup-

portive group as we struggled together with the learning and social problems of battered, bewildered children. It was hard to get enough done in our after-school sessions, and so, after a few months, in the winter of 1973 we would meet occasionally in the evening at my house for a pot-luck supper, saving hard problems for these longer, more relaxed times.

January 22: School very upset. Lots of problems with children versus their families. Painted with a second grade, good splashy work.

2:30-4:00: Work with puppets and a long discussion about the children's problems and their lack of interest.

In May the teachers began to use a beautiful new playground a block and a half away from the school. I went too, taking crayons and paper, and we made rubbings of the textures there. The second grade teacher took out regular math work sheets, which the children did sitting at the playground tables; he also devised a wonderful series of obstacle races for children on the climbing equipment. In this playground the children's behavior was noticeably different from anything any of us had seen in school. They loved climbing over, through, and around the equipment, and being timed. A group of powerful girls spent two hours playing house. We felt we had seen the real children, for the first time in many cases, and were so exhilarated that a trip to the park became a regular part of each day.

Toward the end of my second year in the school we began to see some real progress. The classrooms were more child centered and the school was less hectic; three teachers had established effective learning centers in their rooms and one was running a good open classroom. We were making plans for the next step when the school, as we knew it, was closed and the children assigned at random to other schools in the city.

By this time, however, our identity as a group was strong enough to stand without the school, and in spite of the fact that the teachers are now scattered in various schools, we still gather periodically to eat and talk and worry, trying to support one another through these times in which teachers seem to have been forgotten in the melee of politics. It was through the members of this first group, too, that my next involvement in city schools developed.

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In early 1975 a proposal I had written with teachers of two neighboring schools was funded by the state. Judy Higbea and I spent a day a week in these two schools working with children and teachers and conducting workshops in the afternoons. We worked intensively on language arts, trying to strengthen

the existing reading and writing program through such activities as printmaking, photography, puppetry, and bookmaking, which we related to the immediate lives of the children, and to various ways of using words.

It was an exciting and successful spring. The teachers used every session as a springboard for work in their classrooms and we watched the children grow in their use of language. Specific projects varied, but they always seemed to come back to bookmaking, flow charts, and poetry. For two sessions the teachers made books of various designs. Most of them, filled with children's writing, ended up in classrooms. This sparked great interest in bookmaking everywhere. The little children made simple folded books using colored paper for covers and newsprint or lined paper for the pages. We used a long-armed stapler to put these books together, and for weeks I never appeared in these schools without it. The children loved it all.

April 10: Albert made book after book, piling up the scrap paper and folding it and bringing it to be stapled with a grin. He made a mask, too, out of purple scrap. No doubt about their interest in writing.

A first grade class wrote short stories, their names, their friends' and sisters' and brothers' names, people's telephone numbers, and then read the results aloud to whomever would listen. The teacher and I noticed how difficult it was for the children to aim the staples and get them on a straight line. It seemed to me that sewing would help this idea of aiming along the fold and get at some of the problems the children were having writing, and so when I came in the next week I brought brightly-colored burlap and yarn and big needles. For weeks this class sewed, keeping their projects in their desks and struggling to thread needles and make stitches. On the last day of the course their teacher brought in a big patchwork hanging made of all the sewn designs, commenting that it had been a good project, calming to all as well as a help in sorting out various kinds of control.

Other projects, started by teachers in the workshop and taken by them into classrooms, were puppet-making, which included writing short plays for the characters the children created; printmaking, based on textures and found objects which were often hitched to descriptive words; and for the last three sessions, simple photography. The unit on photography, a new technique to everyone, brought much of the course content into focus. We did a lot of work with blueprint paper, and took pictures with small inexpensive cameras, developing and printing them on the spot. Judy Higbea organized this part of the course and helped the teachers to introduce the technicalities to their children.

A fifth grade teacher asked me to help her introduce blueprinting to her children. When I arrived the children were cutting shapes from construction paper which they carefully arranged on the blueprint paper. The next step was to expose the designs to bright sunlight, so everyone marched solemnly out to the playground—no sun in this room—with papers held firmly to their chests for protection, and after exposure, back to the developing tank. As we were working a child said, "This is a reading period. I wonder why we are doing this?" Someone suggested that it was logical because they had to read the directions first. This brought us to the idea of writing out directions for blueprinting for the next class to use.

The teachers involved in this program were anxious to continue to work for the academic year 1975-76 and in early October we submitted a proposal for state funding, which, after being rewritten last spring has just now (October 1976) been approved by the school committee. So, after much worry we are launched for a year's work which will back up and strengthen what has already been done.

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Suburban schools were an interesting counterpoint to this inner city involvement. After several planning meetings with the school committee and parents and teachers of five elementary schools in a suburban Boston town, the Greater Boston Teachers Center was hired to support those teachers who wanted to change to open classroom techniques. The plan was to offer an open first, second, and third grade in each of the elementary schools. This meant scheduling a morning or afternoon in the classroom of individual teachers in various schools, and conducting or planning for a series of workshops to be held in one of the schools for all of the teachers who wished to come. I was in and out of five schools from September 1973 to May 1976. The plan also included attendance for the teachers at our summer Fayerweather Street School Workshop. I worked in classrooms with teachers and children, and the progress made was encouraging.

October 16 and 17: I have now spent some time with each teacher in the program and visited all the rooms. All the teachers have been friendly and welcoming, and in each instance have tried to follow up on suggestions.

The trip to dig clay last week with two second grades was a tremendous success. The children loved the trip, which took about an hour, and dug with a will. Both teachers have started to extend the work into a study of sand and all kinds of soil, and the children have made wonderful pictures of the trip. They are now ready to make some small ceramic objects and I am on the trail of a

volunteer potter who may be able to oversee the beginning techniques.

All of the classrooms are in a state of struggle and change, but the teachers are adding and clarifying all the time and seem in good spirits. There is a great need to come to an agreement about how much the prescribed reading series is to be used. The coordinator will work on this with the teachers and with the administration. Most of the teachers feel they must have reading groups steadily. There is only one who seemed to be using the reader creatively.

Administration aloof but supportive, at least verbally.

Coordinator very helpful and available. It is due to her efforts that this group is not being exclusive and special, but reaching out wherever possible to other teachers.

The young teachers, who are the only ones in the building that are trying to change, are often upset and threatened by their colleagues, who aren't always kind.

Parent attitudes, as expressed in parent meetings, are becoming more positive.

Toward the end of the second year of the assignment, however, the difficulties inherent in this fragmented way of using outside help became apparent. The two or three teachers who were working alone for change in each of these large, traditional schools were frequently criticized, and felt isolated. Since most of the principals had never given the program more than lip service, the administration ceased to support our work. The original group of teachers, who worked hard to make their classrooms stimulating learning centers, are continuing the good start they made, carrying on alone although they feel the need of further support.

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During this time there were shorter stints, just as intense, in three other suburban school systems, trying to help teachers move toward more informal methods while they contended with the pressures of children's lives, and the demands of parents and administrators for better reading scores and evidence of "real learning."

Writing all this I am impressed with how pointless some of it sounds: one school closed (it is now a middle school); no one paid attention to our proposal to continue a good project in the city school; the suburban town lost much of its official steam to keep the project going; another community is contending with an increasingly reactionary school committee; and cities in general are awash in the problems of race and crime. And yet, from the point of view of

lives touched, human values reinforced, and friends made, it has been the most satisfying and exciting four years I can imagine. It has also been a time of stretching and learning in the midst of human trouble, and therefore satisfying beyond the rewards that come from staying in a safe, stable classroom.

Of things learned, or, more accurately, reinforced, the most important is the great need our schools and children have for some settled, predictable system. Everywhere I heard of "that program we had last year, it was good but it only lasted a few months. Just as the children were getting used to it the people went away." School supply closets are full of things bought for a shining purpose and never used. The waste of our society is laying waste the lives of our children in this excessive experimentation with pseudo-intellectual zeal for "studies" that end up on shelves and in locked closets. The real work which gets real results is only accomplished by quiet, persistent effort that stays on schedule. Over a stretch of several years this kind of commitment is more fruitful than any number of quick attempts. My memories of situations that have been continuous are full of the imagery of growth. Getting to know a school is a growing, evolving process and I am constantly startled at the changes one's perceptions go through. It is this process which helps make advisory work so satisfying and which I can see beginning to evolve again as I look forward to working within a newly developed relationship with yet another school system.

It is tempting for school systems to try to solve their problems by spending lots of money on fancy machines, or to "buy into" the latest reading scheme, and send their faculties to occasional lectures in the name of inservice training, and think they have done enough. It is all very neat and no one needs to bother about anything except opening the auditorium for that day. Not long ago I was scheduled to run an inservice day for the teachers of a big school with whom I had worked for a number of months. After the teachers and I had made our plans, we were told that we would have to start our workshop an hour late because the teachers were to go first to a lecture on reading. The teachers were not one hour, but an hour and a half late to my workshop, and when they arrived they were mad and frustrated. They had been lectured at, condescended to, and generally bored. We served coffee and doughnuts and launched into an active, fulfilling time. Feeling under-appreciated and underpaid, we hoped that someone would at least come and see what was happening, for there had been talk of an evaluation and questions about what the teachers had been doing. We were left severely alone until it was time to clean up, when one person rushed through saying, "It's great!" Well, it was great, but he did not see what was *so* great—teachers working with love and en-

thusiasm to make the lives of the children in their classrooms happier and more productive.

For several years the Boston papers have been zealously reporting integration troubles in the city. There has been much hand-wringing about low reading scores, but very little is said about the teachers who work in these schools. Hardworking and with few exceptions conscientious, not always especially gifted and often badly trained, these are sincere people who care about children and who are trying to do a good job—"the run of the mine teacher." It is these people I have come to respect and to count on as I work in schools, and they are the ones in the long run who will point the schools toward excellence. Brilliant teachers will always find a way, just as brilliance in any field finds its path. But the burden really falls on those of us who slog along every day on schedule, maybe pedestrian, but steady and predictable.

Bringing some excitement and adventure to this dailyness is rewarding, and I am constantly surprised at the simple, almost casual, things that make the difference in teaching. A while ago, I was watching some fifth graders work on a social science project, copying a map of Italy free hand. They had no clues of how to think about the shape, no way of relating one bump in the outline to the next. I suggested the use of a grid and helped a child set one up: light dawned! For two weeks, these children have been enlarging maps with grids, and they do not want to stop. The teacher is delighted and is beginning to think of mapping in more creative ways. We are building on this small spark now to help her think of a social studies curriculum which will have more immediacy than the arbitrary shape of a country that has very little reality for the children.

Another teacher in the same school whose room was sterile and unimaginative began, with some help from another advisor, to move desks into more interesting patterns. The change brought others to look with admiration, and this timid person is basking in his colleagues' appreciation; he is on the way to becoming the local expert in room arrangement. A third teacher reluctantly attended my workshop in weaving because her principal required it. She became fascinated by weaving, persevering, in spite of the jeers of her friends, with an original design. At the end of the session I was invited to come to her room to help start the children on some weaving.

These gains are very modest, and it is this that makes them sound. There is another important factor—the changes come from the teachers' own experience, not from a set of imposed guidelines. No matter what happens, these teachers, and many more that I know like them, will never be the same. Someone has cared enough about them as people to join them where they are, and light a small fire from their own humanity and warmth. This is what good

teachers always try to do for children, and it is what almost never happens for teachers. This is what advisory work is all about. It is meant to give teachers the same care and understanding we want for children, non-judgmental support for what is often a lonely task.

INSERVICE IN THE CLASSROOM: THE ADVISORY APPROACH

by Robert P. Mai

Robert P. Mai is director of the Educational Confederation, a collaborative of St. Louis area independent schools. At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst he was a designer of the Integrated Day program, a preservice and inservice program emphasizing the role of the advisor.

At a time when public pressures call for education to be more responsive to the individual child, teachers need to develop their skills and understanding to meet this challenge. Too often, however, teachers simply lack the confidence or opportunity to try out new approaches that require considerable time and support. A related difficulty for the busy, frequently harried teacher is risk-taking: "Can I afford to try out new ideas in my classroom when I know I can get by following the teacher's manual?" sums it up.

Through a three-year program sponsored by the Educational Confederation of St. Louis, with funding by the Ford Foundation and the St. Louis public schools, master teachers are being deployed as teaching advisors to spearhead teacher renewal at the primary level, working with teachers who invite their assistance. Our assumption is that if teachers who wish to grow pro-

fessionally can have their needs met *on the job*, they will be more likely to try out new approaches and venture beyond old routines.

Designing a Response

St. Louis' Developmental Learning Program is the Educational Confederation's attempt to meet these concerns by building a workshop course around the role of the advisor. Teachers who agree to have the advisor visit their classrooms do so as part of their involvement with the Developmental Learning Program. The advisor role is thus cast as a supplementary resource to the seminars and workshops connected with the staff development course.

Working from the premise that children use a variety of learning *styles* that need to be accommodated in the classroom, the program provides after-school workshops where teachers can discover more about their pupils' learning, and about attendant learning problems. Building this understanding is, of course, only half the battle. The most vital need that must be met is to support teacher attempts at developing learning options in the classroom.

The Concept of the Advisor

The Educational Confederation was particularly attracted to the advisor concept as an instrument for school staff development. The initial conception of the advisory that served as our reference point borrowed heavily from the role model most often associated with open education, both in this country and in England. Indeed, we were unaware of an advisory role (conceived as an ongoing resource available to teachers in their classrooms) that had not been associated with the development of open, informal teaching in America. This role model, while helpful, was not one that we could adopt in its entirety for our purposes in the Developmental Learning Program, because the orientation of our staff development project was not necessarily toward open classrooms.

Two members of the Confederation, Charles Rathbone and Peter Wilson, had had first-hand experience with advisories. (Wilson had, in fact, directed the operation of a very successful advisory based at the University of Massachusetts.) Lillian Weber's Open Corridors advisory in Manhattan's District 3 was another significant model, for several Confederation members had visited or worked in the Open Corridors communities in P.S. 84 on the upper West Side.

In April 1974, the Confederation sponsored the Midwest Advisory Conference to examine ways advisors could best function in public schools. John

Coe, Senior Advisor for Primary Education, Oxfordshire, England, convened the conference together with Rathbone and Wilson. Representatives from the Greater Cleveland Teachers Center, the Minneapolis/University of Minnesota Teacher Center, and the Learning Center of St. Louis shared insights with Confederation people and public school administrators from the St. Louis area. This conference set the stage for the debut of our own advisory in the St. Louis system.

In designing an advisory for public schools, we found ourselves borrowing many of the tactical approaches developed by others, while evolving our own, less tendentious philosophy to accommodate a range of teacher dispositions and organizational climates. Again, ours was not a philosophy oriented toward open classrooms.

The Advisory in St. Louis

Working primarily in the lower elementary grades in no more than four schools at a time, the advisor in the Developmental Learning Program makes a major time investment with a relatively small number of teachers—about 20—for two years. After this time the advisor links up with a new group of teachers at four other schools in the same subdistrict.

Our assumption has been that this intensive support for a teacher's efforts to develop new approaches is crucial for significant growth to take place. Once the teacher has had an opportunity to develop ideas, the likelihood is great that innovations will be firmly established. The essence of our own assumption is that self-developed ideas are more powerful than ideas brought in or mandated from above. In this regard, we have felt that the advisory approach to inservice training can make fiscal sense as well. While the small numbers of teachers served by the advisor at any one time might make this seem a costly resource, the substantial gains realized in professional growth in a relatively short time can then be repeated with each successive cycle of the advisor's involvement.

Early Findings

Our program began full-scale use of one advisor in 1974 in the Beaumont-Sumner district. The four schools are in predominantly black, inner city neighborhoods on St. Louis' north side. They were chosen because of the principals' willingness to make a significant time commitment personally, and because of a general interest on the part of the staff to develop their own

teaching skills. The advisor, Ethel Sleet, had worked in the district for 20 years as a kindergarten teacher and then as a building administrator; she had a strong identity with the district even before beginning her advisory role there.

Ethel Sleet came into a classroom with an identified purpose: to provide follow-up to teachers taking the Developmental Learning Program course, if they wished this kind of assistance (teachers always had the option of not using the advisor). Her presence at workshops also underlined this follow-up function and made it easier for her to build a context for any help she might proffer later. From the teachers' standpoint, knowing *why* the advisor might visit them in their classrooms made her less of a threat. There was a minimum of ambiguity in the presentation of the advisor's role, and a deliberate and repeated effort on her part to assure teachers that she was at their disposal—that she had no agendas of her own with regard to how they ran their classrooms.

At first the advisor functioned as a participant-observer in classrooms. The teacher would invariably ask her if she would work with a particular group of children—sometimes small, but sometimes 15 or more. The advisor usually found this arrangement a good means to accomplish three initial goals: (1) establishing rapport and credibility, (2) becoming familiar with children, atmosphere, and procedures in the room, and (3) being helpful as quickly as possible.

As expected, some teachers sought advice and suggestions more readily than others. Consequently, the nature of the advisor's involvement as a helping resource differed from classroom to classroom. Several of the teachers were reluctant to consult with the advisor at all, while nonetheless feeling sufficiently comfortable to continue using her as an "extra" in working with small groups. Here, the advisor's hope was that by modelling certain approaches to small group activities—and particularly by facilitating independent self-directed activity wherever possible—she could work herself out of a job, and make an important point about the ability of small groups to function without direct supervision of an adult.

After an initial feeling-out period, when teachers tested her capacity and willingness to actually *do things for them*, the advisor began to develop for herself a resource identity. As the seminars in the teachers' weekly course built a picture of how children learn and introduced various observation and diagnostic strategies, teachers consulted the advisor to help identify learning patterns and specific learning problems in their own classrooms. When later the course shifted toward implications for instruction, she was increasingly called upon to offer curriculum and management support.

Flexibility of scheduling was, of course, imperative. While some teachers preferred to consult the advisor occasionally for specific advice, others engaged her in specific projects over a longer period. In dealing with scheduling problems, we found that the experience of another advisory, described by Lilian Katz in "The Advisory Approach to Inservice Training," was helpful to us both in articulating the problem and in providing some suggestions for resolution.[1] Katz and her colleagues experienced that with only a week between the advisor's visits in a classroom there was not always enough time for a teacher to "process" the ideas that had been discussed. Their response, which we adopted, was to schedule two successive day visits, every other week. We found that this allowed for some immediate follow-up to advisor observations and teacher requests, and permitted "processing" at a more meaningful pace.

Ethel Sleet actively sought to tie in her efforts with those of other in-school resources. By serving as a resource broker for such ancillary staff as special education teachers, remedial math and reading teachers, and school social workers, the advisor has amplified rather than duplicated existing services. Her style of providing in-classroom assistance had the added effect of setting an important precedent: in several cases ancillary staff have developed an advisory aspect in their own roles, and carry on as an available, occasional resource after the advisor has left.

A particularly useful way of capitalizing on existing resource personnel in a school was through a "team meeting," convened initially by the principal and the advisor. Teachers participating in a school's advisory program met regularly to talk about specific problems and ways of dealing with them. The advisor's function here was to help set agendas and to identify common needs. Team meetings could focus on "staffing" a child or problem (the whole group analyzes one teacher's particular learning or behavior problem and plans collectively how to deal with it); or focus on developing new curriculum materials and learning aids. As with the "corridor communities" in New York's Open Corridors program, we hoped to create opportunities for active sharing among teachers, and collective reinforcement for individuals trying out new ideas. Once the group began to exercise its own leadership and direction-setting, the advisor phased herself out.

Ethel Sleet influenced classrooms in several essential ways: observing children and streamlining the management of small group work; suggesting ways of handling discipline problems in the context of curriculum and behavior strategies; manufacturing supplementary curriculum materials for

[1]In *A Collection of Papers for Teachers* (Urbana: ERIC Clearinghouse on Early Childhood Education, University of Illinois, 1974), pp. 1-17.

the reading program; and helping teachers see how children can work productively on their own. Because she functioned as part of a larger programmatic effort—the course in which teachers learned about children's cognitive development—the advisor's classroom influence was broadened and reinforced. Welcome signs that the advisor had not just created another dependency relationship were found in comments like "now we have a greater basis for dialogue about kids" and "we have begun to look at children as individuals more." Emerging patterns of mutual problem-solving and resource-sharing within a school were also evidence of professional growth which would sustain itself. In the spring of Ethel Sleet's first year of advisory work, teachers planned enthusiastically to extend their innovations into the next year.

After a Year

Starting in 1975, four schools in another district joined the Developmental Learning Program, making a total of eight schools in two districts. Our second advisor, Louise McElroy, worked with teachers in four schools in the Northwest-Soldan district, while Ethel Sleet continued to meet and plan with approximately 20 teachers and principals in Beaumont-Sumner. Four new teachers also began participating.

Our experience in Northwest-Soldan was different in several respects from our previous year in Beaumont-Sumner. Several teachers in the Northwest-Soldan schools were already using a differentiated curriculum, each employing an interest-center format. Thus, in general we were working with teachers who were not quite as dependent on central office guidelines and basal readers. This made the task of the advisor somewhat different. Instead of helping the teachers take "first steps" beyond a fairly conventional curriculum, the advisor found that frequently such steps had already been taken, and she could be more of a resource person in support of further extension of teacher ideas and plans.

In addition, there occurred in two of the four new schools regular team meetings, where the principal played an active role and where there appeared to be valuable group problem-solving taking place. Frequently these meetings focused on one child's learning problem. At one school the group problem-solving was so highly regarded that the team began "staffing" a specific behavior or learning problem apart from any specific child.

Teachers in all the schools also began systematically calling parents of their children to initiate some positive contact. In two of the schools this effort was fairly widespread, and principals as well as educational resource teachers played key roles.

This year we plan to extend the program to two new districts, McKinley-Roosevelt and Cleveland-Southwest. Both are on the south side of the city; McKinley-Roosevelt has a racially mixed population and Cleveland-Southwest is predominantly white and more middle class. While schools in these districts were being selected (procedures varied in the selections, but in each district the final four schools were chosen on the basis of strength of interest on the part of the principal and the primary staff), a search and selection process for two new advisors took place. After asking district staff offices for names of people to be considered for advisors, the program staff, joined by representatives from the districts, interviewed candidates. Our two new advisors are Helen Stanfield, for McKinley-Roosevelt, and Ann Kiesewetter, for Cleveland-Southwest. After several planning meetings with program staff in the spring of 1976, the two new advisors went to the Learning Exchange's conference on teachers' centers and advisories in Kansas City. Next they visited New York to participate in Lillian Weber's three-week summer institute at CCNY. And as further training, Ann Kiesewetter and Helen Stanfield spent some significant time with the two seasoned advisors during the fall.

In Beaumont-Sumner, largely at her own suggestion, we have decided to schedule Ethel Sleet so that for the first few months she will continue to work with the four original schools, while also visiting the new schools to get to know the staffs. Gradually, as requests from the new schools become more demanding of her time, she will phase out her schedule with the others. This strategy may well have some general application, for both Ethel Sleet and Louise McElroy found that sustained use of their assistance occurred most frequently during the second half of the school year—in Ethel Sleet's case, during the first half of the second year as well. Thus, once the cycle of school assignments is under way, an advisor might spend the equivalent of only a year with each cluster of schools.

In Summary

While it may be premature to generalize about advisory work with inner city teachers, touching upon a few priorities seems justified. The first priority for an advisor, we feel, is not curriculum expertise, nor a dynamic personal presence or enlightenment in the ways of "humanistic teaching," but rather an unobtrusive style of relating to other professionals. An advisor has a kind of professional humility with a capacity to put people at ease, while at the same time challenging them to accept real responsibility for their own growth. We found that a key characteristic of successful advisory work is patience, and an appreciation for the necessity of dormancy in the self-development of profes-

sionals. Not everything the advisor works for will happen overnight, and in fact, such dramatic "breakthrough" changes are often more noteworthy for their suddenness than their lasting value.

The second and corollary priority is that the advisor must be a listener who can convey respect; and to do this, time is essential. The advisory approach to inservice must be non-threatening, intimate, and *sustained*. In particular, the advisor cannot be perceived as someone who comes into the classroom to evaluate or rate teachers. The advisor's role must be demonstrable in terms of lasting help for a teacher.

School systems are assuming increasingly greater responsibility for their own professional growth and renewal. Staff development is seen as an important priority, and both teachers and administrators are being challenged to play a larger role in determining the means to this end. There is also a basic realization that development involves risk-taking and experimentation with different approaches. This kind of learning experience needs to occur *in schools*—not just at workshops and courses—so that the reality of children and classrooms can temper and test new ideas and techniques for the teachers.

The teaching advisory has proved itself a method—with or without the mantle of open education—capable of providing in-school leadership for teachers who want to develop their range and effectiveness, particularly in basic teaching skills. When the efforts of the advisor are successful, the result is more responsive and effective instruction for children, and greater satisfaction and professional confidence for teachers.

BOSTON CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

REFLECTIONS ON BRITISH TEACHERS' CENTRES

by L. C. Taylor

L. C. Taylor is an English educator with the Center for Educational Research and Innovation at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. He has observed teachers' centers and helped design inservice programs in Europe, Turkey, Japan, and Australia.

Teachers' centres in Britain crystallized out from a large and obscure mixture of needs, but two incidents acted as the precipitants. First, certain proposals by Sir David Eccles in the mid-'50s led teachers to fear the imminence of a centralized, ministerial direction of curriculum. The Lockwood Committee in response proposed the establishment of the teacher-dominated Schools Council. The Council in turn *(Working Papers nos. 2 and 10)* urged the development of a network of teachers' centres "with a steering committee of local teachers and no hierarchy of control." Second, the Nuffield Foundation's Primary Mathematics Project in 1964 required its 14 "pilot areas" to establish teachers' groups, and these groups—through their regular meetings, their acquisition of equipment and, often, premises—turned into

teachers' centres. Thus, in their historic origins the centres portrayed what have remained their key points of emphasis—a determination to secure for teachers a high degree of professional and local independence, and an active share in the development of new curricula.

In 1970 the National Foundation for Educational Research conducted a survey on in-service teacher training. Its principal findings were these:

> Four-fifths of the teachers felt they needed in-service training. Half reckoned they could not get what they needed. Two-thirds said they were not consulted sufficiently. Overwhelmingly, "teachers wanted the bulk of in-service training close to their own homes." In order of preference, teachers wanted such training to take place (a) during school hours, (b) for half a day or a full day at weekends, (c) for up to one week during school holidays, (d) for up to two weeks on release during school terms.

The establishment of teachers' centres has been the principal response to this demand for local teacher education. The most fundamental and widespread are centres which do not actually require permanent staff, permanent premises, or elaborate equipment. At its simplest, a centre is notional and peripatetic, but acts as the venue for

> informal social exchange between teachers, formal discussion among teachers, small-scale exhibitions and demonstrations, visiting speakers, short in-service training courses, dissemination and support of national curriculum projects, professional library, collections of locally developed lessons, guides, and "enrichment" materials.

An example of a rudimentary centre of this sort is the Chumleigh Centre at Witheridge in Devonshire. In a deeply rural area, it is within reasonable reach of only 14 schools with a total of fewer than 40 teachers. The headmaster of one of the primary schools acts as secretary for the centre, and meetings are held normally in the one secondary school in the area or in rotation at the primary schools. None the less the centre is active and well attended, and besides its schedules of short meetings manages to run two-day and three-day in-service training courses.

Where the density of population permits, however, a centre is likely to acquire permanent premises and a full-time warden. Usually a centre is housed in a converted primary school. We can get an idea of the level of meetings and courses that a small, permanent centre can sustain by glancing at a typical programme such as the one below, offered in a country town in Sussex during the months of January, February and March, 1972.

Workshops, Meetings:
Seminars for Probationary Teachers.
3 meetings, 4:30 p.m.

Team Teaching in the Primary School.
2 meetings, 4:30 p.m.

The Middle Years of Schooling.
3 discussion meetings, 7-9 p.m.

Raising of the School Leaving Age and After, BBC programmes.
3 discussion meetings, 6:15 p.m.

School Assemblies.
2 meetings, 4:45-6:15 p.m.

Science in the Primary School.
3 meetings, 4:15 p.m.

Teachers of English Group.
2 meetings, 7-9 p.m.

Drama in Education.
1 meeting, 4:30 p.m.

Primary School Fieldwork.
1 meeting, 4:15 p.m.

Infant Education, reception classes.
1 meeting, 4:30 p.m.

Annual General Meeting of Teachers' Center, 7 p.m.

Courses:
Primary School French.
Twice weekly, 4 p.m.

Raising of the School Leaving Age.
Weekly, 5-9 p.m.

Home Economics Curriculum Development Group.
Weekly, 5-9 p.m.

Preschool Play Group Tutors.
Weekly, 10-3 p.m.

Children's Literature.
Weekly, 7-9 p.m.

National Bureau for Co-operation in Child Care.
Weekly, 7-9 p.m.

Although the general-purpose centre is the dominant type, it is worth remembering that the earliest centres were single-subject—those established by the Nuffield Primary Maths Project. Three years later, in 1968, of 308 centres listed, 89 were still exclusively devoted to mathematics. Initially, the primary math centres were notional, but many quickly acquired premises and a full-time warden. The Stapleford Mathematics Centre in Cambridge provides an example. In a converted village hall in the grounds of a primary school there is room for a well-furnished library, an office, a kitchen, and a workshop crammed with equipment—calculators, computer lay-out, planetarium, etc. The Stapleford Centre demonstrates the principal merit of the single-subject centre: teachers attending it reckon their area of specialism is being dealt with in detail and in depth, and expertly (the warden is an ac-

complished mathematics teacher). It also demonstrates the main difficulty: saturation-point has been reached as far as the maths teachers in the Stapleford area are concerned. There are now proposals to house the specialist centre for a year at a time within each of the five general-purpose centres in the county.

Single-subject centres have flourished in Japan. Determined to check a worsening shortage of well-qualified science teachers, local education boards began to establish science centres—by 1966 there were 30. Centres followed for maths, social studies and languages. A third of the costs of running a centre is met by the Ministry of Education, the rest by the local board which also, with help from parent-teacher associations, meets a part of the living costs of teachers attending courses. Some courses last a month, others a few days. They cover subject content, laboratory techniques, and new methods of teaching. One such centre, serving 78 schools, had 2,800 teachers attending 18 courses during 1972. It could deal with up to 240 at a time. Another centre ran a course one day a week for 15 weeks, training teachers in groups of 10. Once trained, the teachers were expected to lead local seminars.

The Problem of Release Time

The Japanese appear to believe that if you offer in-service training courses then you should release teachers to attend them. Unfortunately this convinces only a minority of local education authorities in England and Wales at present. A National Union of Teachers survey in 1972 showed that while 71 percent of centres offered activities during normal school hours, only 34 percent of the relevant LEAs were prepared, even in principle, to replace an attending teacher with a substitute "supply" teacher. For lack of a more general and generous policy of teacher substitution (an extra cost which LEAs will scarcely embrace at the present time of severe cuts), most teachers can attend school daytime courses only at the unpopular cost of extra labour imposed upon their colleagues. This is a particular worry in smaller rural schools with few teachers among whom the added load can be distributed.

The difficulty of school-time attendance means that wardens have to stuff all they can into the evenings and week-ends; that, in turn, appeals neither to teachers with other ideas of amusement, nor to that large army of women (on whom the school system so largely depends) who take to teaching precisely because the hours can be reconciled with the demands of a family. With monotonous insistence, at every meeting of centre wardens at the Schools Council, the need to link the provision of school-time courses with a policy of matching school-time release has been reiterated. Difficulties over school-time

release mean that teachers' centres are little used during the day. Centres can be added to that long list of capital assets so uneconomically utilized at present by the educational system.

The Swedes, with customary clear-mindedness, now achieve a co-ordination of training courses and teacher availability very simply: they make attendance compulsory. On five days every year the schools close to allow formal in-service training. Teachers normally take their pick among a selection of local courses, but sometimes there's an element of direction. For example, when "old" maths gave way to "new" in the official syllabus, the elaborate DELTA in-service training programme was mounted (combining television and radio programmes, printed texts, correspondence tutoring and group discussions). Teachers were told that their continued authorization to teach mathematics would depend on official certification of course completion. As a result, every school in Sweden had "converted" to new maths within two years: in Britain, in a confused and chaotic way, about half have done so, ten years after the establishment of the initial primary and secondary mathematics projects. A similar process of in-service training has since been mounted in Sweden for all teachers of English.

Yet such foreign triumphs do not in the least alter the unswerving opposition of the teachers' unions in Britain to any form of direction or compulsion over in-service training. History, doubtless, has something to do with such attitudes—the evangelical tradition of the purest voluntarism, the passionate objection to central control, above all in education. Teachers centres were a re-assertion of professional independence at the most local level: how inappropriate that they should be mobilized in any programme of compulsory attendance enforced upon their members. Are subservient teachers now to "log their hours like airline pilots?" Indeed, the hostility of the teachers' unions extends not only to compulsion but even to inducement. Proposals that attendance at in-service courses might, by cumulative credits, lead to a qualification recognized in a salary increment have so far been firmly rejected. Oddly, the acquisition in the conventional manner of any degree (whether relevant to the teacher's daily labours or not) does so qualify. No wonder, then, that over 23,000 teachers signed up for the correspondence-based Open University in its first year—over a third of the total student intake. Yet even if no formal salary-linked inducements exist, may not official approval shine upon those who attend courses, to their benefit when promotion is in the air? So acute is the suspicion of insidious managerial control that teachers in some centres have resisted the appointment of any full-time warden (who might, as the paid servant of the LEA, report back on participants). They prefer to share the necessary duties among themselves. This concern over the prime loyalties of

the warden, of the need to ensure that the centre is controlled by "Us" rather than by "Them", agitates many politically active teachers.

Centres' Value for Student Teachers

In a number of ways, the in-service training, curriculum development and resource production aspects of a teachers' centre might also, with advantage, include student teachers. In particular, the steady spread of individual and small group methods of learning offers opportunities for teacher-training which whole-class teaching prohibited. For the essence of whole-class teaching is that one source of instruction at a time is used by the whole class—usually the teacher's words. The teacher flies solo: the teacher-in-training is a passenger until, in his turn, he too flies solo. But in an informal classroom there are many different sources of information in use within the class at any one time. These have to be made and managed; and while the teacher is helping one group, a student under his supervision can help another. It offers the student a less pretentious role when he starts to teach, and a less traumatic form of initiation. Above all, it places teacher and student in a functional inter-relationship. Both can then usefully be linked, via the local teachers' centre, with university and specialist support. The prospect opens up of student-teachers being of everyday value in the running of a school, as student-doctors are in the running of a hospital. The unconvincing and ineffectual nature of teacher-training might then be modified, and the pressure on the teacher—particularly the teacher who wants to make changes—might be eased.

Teachers' Centres and Correspondence Courses

In-service training courses can be justified at the present time for virtually every established teacher. Further, the radical nature of contemporary innovations—extending from drastic overhaul of content and method to sensitive changes in the teacher's role—requires in-service training over an extensive period. And, if the training is to bear fruit in time within a school, then the whole operational group of teachers concerned should be trained together. Our requirement, then, is for retraining of virtually the whole teaching force, preferably whole operational groups in a school simultaneously, over a sufficiently long period of time to permit thorough understanding and gradual adjustment.

To meet this vast and unprecedented need, holiday and weekend courses, in the traditional manner, are patently inadequate. Teachers' centres, being

local, can additionally hope to attract teachers for the odd hour in the evenings and sometimes during the day. Thus, they not only increase the total time available, but spread training over a period which allows the digestion of unfamiliar propositions. All the same, any voluntary system confined to spare time hours means that even from those who can attend only a minority will do so. We have here, in short, the classical situation which correspondence courses the world over try to meet – retraining of adults who cannot easily attend normal classes because they are already in full-time employment and have acquired family commitments.

In any breakdown by profession of those enrolled in the established correspondence colleges in Britain, teachers would certainly figure prominently. No less than 23,000 teachers were enrolled by the Open University in its first year – more than a third of the total student body. In certain other countries, direct and exclusive provision is made for teachers to learn by correspondence. The Swedish DELTA course in modern mathematics (financed through the National Board of Education but executed by Hermod's, the celebrated correspondence institute) is a case in point. The Danish "Teachers' University," with branches in seven provincial cities, offers not only numerous long-term and short-term courses of a traditional kind but correspondence courses in English, German, French, mathematics and statistics. There are now numerous similar initiatives in correspondence teacher training or re-training at an earlier stage of development: in Germany, in Brazil, in Turkey.

But what has this to do with teachers centres? Correspondence courses and teachers centres seem at first sight wholly different in style and intent, the one centralized and individual, the other local and communal. It is precisely this difference, however, which makes them potential complements in a unified approach to in-service training. The Open University (and there are other precedents on a smaller scale) has done much to emphasise how personal contact can improve study by correspondence. All Open University students are obliged to attend summer schools. In addition they are encouraged to meet with tutors and with other students at local Study Centres or at "Saturday schools." Such human concourse, it is reasonably believed, strengthens both the student's understanding and his resolve, and helps to explain the much lower wastage rate at the Open University than in the normal commercial correspondence colleges.

It happens that no country which has mounted a major correspondence-based re-training programme for teachers has also an established network of teachers' centres to use in support. Somewhere, soon, the coincidence will occur, or be deliberately engineered. As the value of the teachers' centre in the campaign for in-service training and curriculum development becomes evi-

dent, the local support of related correspondence courses is likely to be added to its tasks.

Teachers' Centres: Local Curriculum Development

Although all English teachers' centres offer in-service training, only a minority at present engage in local curriculum development. Nevertheless, in the case of the more radical sort of reform, local curriculum development has proved the sole effective form of in-service training. Between these twin functions of teachers' centres the relationship is not casual but symbiotic.

Local curriculum development induces an understanding of an intended change by providing opportunities for *adaptation*, for *reification*, for *experience*, and for *internalization*. How important such opportunities become depends on the level of curriculum reform we intend. For our present purposes we can usefully distinguish three. In the first, small, continuous adjustments are made to a widely accepted convention—usually by addenda to official syllabuses. After some years, however, this may no longer be enough. Expert opinion may require so profound a change in subject content that tinkering with the syllabus will not suffice. Wholesale subject re-alignment constitutes a second brand of curriculum change, of which examples were numerous in the '60s: modern mathematics, new science syllabuses, oral rather than written fluency in languages, "human" rather than "physical" geography, and so on. A third variety of curriculum reform, although incorporating whatever new subject content experts approve, has concerned itself less with what students learn than how they learn it. Generally the shift has been towards heuristic, active, individual or small group learning, and away from received authority, passivity, and whole-class teaching. This portends a changed pattern of relationships within the external educational triangle of teacher, student and material—the "I-thou-it" of the learning situation. As we ascend this three-stage hierarchy of curriculum reform, so the nature of appropriate in-service training alters.

Adaptation

In the traditional classroom the day-to-day business of learning is dominated by the teacher, even when ostensibly a course outlined in a textbook is being pursued. When a teacher is late for a period he scolds the pupils for their chatter: they know perfectly well, he says, that they should get out their books and study them. If one day he found they had done as he said, he'd fear they had taken leave of their senses. For although a particular structure in a foreign language or a particular topic in maths is set out with

detailed care by the author of the textbook, the pupil waits to be taught it by the master. The textbook, except occasionally in literary subjects, acts chiefly as a visible structure and as a compendium of exercises for homework.

In order to implement gradual minor changes in subject content in a traditional classroom, it will suffice to ensure their inclusion in the textbooks in use and to explain to teachers the sense of the changes in official memoranda and brief meetings. Such will not do at all when the content of a school-subject is dramatically reconstituted. At this second level of reform, brief meetings won't serve, say, to re-train "old" maths teachers in the bizarre language of the "new." Long residential sessions are needed, or an extended series of meetings, supported perhaps by correspondence texts and broadcasts—anything less risks leaving the teacher unhappily insecure. Further, entirely new pupil-texts are needed, elaborated in detail and accompanied by large teachers' manuals (not just "answers" but whole explanations).

In the new curriculum reform projects of the '60s, the single, independent textbook author in his study at home was replaced by a whole group of experts, supported by public funds, at work together full-time over an extended period. In the United States, the great new curriculum projects were conceived by university lecturers; in England, the Nuffield Foundation set a pattern, which the Schools Council has continued, of choosing outstanding school teachers instead. Unfortunately, such eminent persons, ardent to propagate the very best practices, tended to soar into a Cordon Bleu of course-writing. Almost all curriculum innovators have emphasised greater activity by students as individuals and in small groups. Instead of follow-my-leader to the teacher's words, students follow various leads through the course materials and even more ambitiously out into byways of open "research." The course materials then, unlike the old textbook, become a prime source of instruction and guidance. The new materials assume a self-confidence and skill in teachers, an allocation of time and resources by headmasters, an ardour and good order among children, which is seriously at odds, alas, with mundane experience. The corollary of such enviable courses has been the need for local adaptation to the humdrum realities of ordinary schools, a process often so substantial that teachers are driven to pool their efforts in a local group which meets over a long period at the teachers' centre.

Reification

At the third stage of curriculum reform, where not so much teacher knowledge as teacher behaviour is the subject of attention, additional support is needed to achieve a more fundamental transformation. The teachers who

embark on a new *style* of schooling, more amenable to today's students and appropriate to mixed-ability or mixed-age groups, find themselves well furnished with methodological hints and admirable suggestions for activities. But before these can be realized they must be laboriously translated into brute physical existence for the students' personal use. So teachers find themselves involved in the creative reification of the curriculum ideas, preparing workcards, notices, charts and posters, conjuring learning apparatus inexpensively from nuts and bolts, scraps of wrapping paper and cloth, empty cans and plastic containers, and the rest of the prolific detritus of industrial society. In order to practice making the necessary artifacts and *to understand what principles can be learnt by students using them,* teachers combine in practical materials-making groups at their teachers' centre.

Experience

However, such groups fulfill another function than materials-making. Inadequately prepared teachers naturally shelter behind authoritarian superiors and inflexible texts. This applies no less to experienced teachers, reduced by some drastic reform to the position of near-beginners. They clutch at whatever comes to hand, desperate for the accustomed support of authority. Whereas a change in syllabus content can, with reasonable success, be achieved by official instruction to a teacher, a change in his attitude and his role toward the student is altogether more personal and more subtle. Such can neither be ordered from above nor simply accepted below. A sort of active personal conversion is required, and conversion requires direct, first-hand experience.

Internalization

When a fundamental reform is being introduced, the traditional form of teacher re-training – the single course of a week or two's duration – is worse than useless: worse, because it results in a parody of the reformers' intent, and because it devalues a teacher's previous stock of knowledge, robbing him of self-confidence, without providing a sufficient replacement. Re-training at the level of teacher behaviour is a slow business. Just how slow, it is all too easy for project originators to underestimate. The originators and managers, like teachers exasperated at befuddled children, attribute teachers' incomprehension to idleness or inattention, to inadequate training or immaturity. More often the cause is sheer lack of time: time for the learner also to grow into an understanding; time to view the new idea from a variety of angles, to re-

phrase it, to connect it up with his particular store of previous knowledge and experience, to apply it in various situations. In a word, time to "play" with it until it is properly internalized.

This slow process is the familiar occupation of our classrooms. Its methodology is well-established—explanation by the teacher, visible demonstration, repetition, first-hand experience through practical exercises, discussion of difficulties with other learners, the exchange of ideas. It is precisely this range of activity, spread over time, that teachers themselves pursue when, in a local group at a teachers' centre they "develop" a new curriculum. In sum, the most carefully prepared materials, the fullest of teachers' guides, constitute no more than a sort of basic textbook. This must be set into the normal amalgam of learning activities if the "class" of teachers is properly to comprehend it.

Teachers' Participation in Curriculum Development

The striking feature, then, about the newer sorts of school reform is that the relevant re-training for working teachers does not consist of an official order and a "one-shot" instructional course but extends to *the active participation of teachers over a considerable period of time*. Curriculum materials provide the natural focus for this sustained attention. There is no better way to appreciate the intentions of curriculum originators than to try out their materials, to examine these closely with other teachers, to "improve" them, to adapt them. So it is that curriculum development intertwines with in-service training until the two become firmly plaited together.

A less dramatic aspect of work at British teachers' centres is that of groups of teachers producing learning materials for their own students only. Frequently these are teachers who in normally difficult circumstances have encountered one of the great reform courses. Though they share the general approach embodied in the new course, they find it so elegantly inappropriate that, at once exasperated and inspired, they put it aside and set about making their own.

Sometimes local curriculum effort of this sort achieves a certain celebrity. For example, some teachers' groups in the county of Shropshire produced their own modern mathematics course. By co-ordinating their efforts and helped by their LEA, they actually persuaded Penguin Books to publish the earlier part of their work. In terms of circulation the enterprise was not a success, and the "Shropshire Mathematics Project" has retreated within its county boundaries.

Usually, however, local curriculum making starts and ends within its own neighbourhood. A group of teachers at a centre set about making, say, a

maths course with no other thought than their own benefit. While admiring their heroism, one can't avoid certain reservations. Suppose we leave aside the contentious matter of the limited knowledge and talent which a local group is likely to deploy, there remains the undoubted handicap of lack of time. We have noted already that in-service training is hampered by ungenerous policies of teacher-release: how much worse the effect of official parsimony on time-consuming curriculum development.

Lack of Time

We can approach this problem of time through the experience of the Nuffield Foundation's "Resources for Learning" Project. This maintained a team of teachers to compose "starter-packages" in five principal subjects for third-year secondary classes (14-year-olds). There was a substantial component of independent learning in these materials and some choice was offered among items—characteristics which add to preparation time, but common to almost all contemporary courses, whether made centrally or locally. In the Nuffield case, all design, illustration, reprographic and administrative needs were provided to the teacher team, and as the year wore on the writers, from growing experience, were able substantially to shorten their production time. Even so, a calculation at the end of the year showed that it took an average 22 man-hours to compile/write one hour of work usable in the classroom. How on earth are practising teachers to find such time?

Optimists reckon that willing teachers will always find "marginal time" to do what they want. However, if we assume that there are endless possibilities with which a teacher could usefully fill his day, the economic doctrine of "opportunity time" requires us to count the hours he spends on curriculum development as bought at the expense of alternative occupations. If at school, the cost may be, say, a reduction in his devotion to correcting children's work or to explaining the corrections to individuals, or to leading extra-curricular activities or to pastoral care. If at home, then the cost may fall upon his wife and children, his garden . . . or whatever it is that provides him with sanity and recuperation. True, a few teachers, though in full-time employment at a school, have managed in their "spare" time to create remarkable courses of the extended and varied kind we now expect; but one suspects that research would show a high proportion remain single or become single again; or if they elect to keep the strain away from home, accept posts at universities and colleges, foundations, national and international agencies. There, like once-celebrated racehorses, their ardours done, they crop lusher pastures, some hopefully to stud, others gratefully to grass.

One popular solution to this intractable problem of time has been the distribution of work among a group. Each can surely afford to contribute a small portion of curriculum-making labour to the general corvee. The shortcomings of widespread collaboration are obvious: unreliability in delivery, unevenness in style, weakness at the points of fit between sections, incoherence overall. To co-ordinate (worse, to edit) multifarious teacher-contributions successfully requires that someone should have ample time, as well as infinite tact, and be armed with either authority or rewards—precisely those conditions of individual domination offensive to dedicated volunteers. The extent of the labour itself and the frustrations of creation by committee too often result in the curriculum group shrivelling down to two or three determined enthusiasts who do most of the actual work in the name of, and with periodic comments from, the rest.

Justifying Local Efforts

For such reasons the reality of local curriculum originations at teachers' centres is usually much less impressive than the idea, whether our measure be the frequency of attendance at meetings or the quality of the materials produced. Arguably, the effort involved is its own justification. To design a new curriculum is to "learn-by-doing" at the teacher level; and as for the product—"klein aber mein." But against the benefit to the actors we must set the possible suffering of their audience. In England, the resistance of the local man against the central expert, and a sense of fraternity among workers, strike a ready response, so that classroom teachers may feel some commitment to use the products of local enterprise: "East Cheam materials for East Cheam schools." In the process, a teacher finds himself in thrall to Joe-up-the-road a far more effective inquisitor into the proper use of "our" course than ever a central project team can be of "theirs." And pupils may be victims too. It's their lot in life to submit to whatever course is assigned to them. Each is equally "external" and imposed. In consequence they may thrill only briefly at the news that this course was composed by teachers meeting only a mile away, instead of the usual hundred. They may even be more concerned with the quality of what they get than with its source—like those children who will complain at having to wear shapeless objects although these encourage Grannie to knit.

"Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Oh Participation, in thine too. And yet participation by teachers in local curriculum development can be admirable—when confined to appropriate contexts. In order to identify these, the Nuffield Foundation's "Resources for Learning" Project

joined with the County of Leicestershire and the City of Leicester to establish, during a three-year period, an experimental teachers' centre at Thurmaston. Given adequate technical support and professional encouragement by the warden, what sorts of materials would local secondary school teachers want to produce, and which would they produce well?

The warden of the centre has written an account of what transpired. Chief among the tangible results were a set of readings on "creation myths"; photographs to stimulate creative writing; a year's individualized maths course; guides to places of educational interest in the locality; an expert's excursion into local geology and land use; slides illustrating local history and geography; and a box of varied materials on "mines and mining" in the region. The list is long and encouraging.

An analysis of this experiment confirms, however, what common sense leads us to expect, namely that the style and scale of curriculum development should be functions of the time available to participants. If we are considering the spare time participation of classroom teachers, then, as a regular arrangement, we can reasonably expect from the teacher "moyen sensuel" only brief contributions, and contributions the necessity of which is apparent to him. A whole course, such as the one attempted at Thurmaston, requires a degree of continuity and coherence such that only sustained labour can ensure; since the content is abstract or "universal," what precisely is the justification (when pride or pleasure wane) for so Herculean a *local* effort? Unfortunately far too much local curriculum development has fallen into the hands of over-ambitious enthusiasts who try to excel in the mode appropriate to central projects. This way lies waste and frustration. Local curriculum development has a positive and serious function when the *fragmentary contributions* of teachers can wholly or largely comprise the materials desired, and when these contributions add a *local dimension* which central-produced materials cannot provide.

MAPPING NEW TERRITORY*

by Kathleen Devaney

Kathleen Devaney is director of the Teachers' Centers Exchange, Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco.

Since 1970 or thereabouts followers of new paths in American education have run across settlements called "teachers' centers" and reported them as being young and homespun but attractive and apparently vigorous communities in which practicing teachers continue their professional education.

Inventors of and traders in new ideas for schooling have perked up their ears at this news and wondered whether teachers' centers might be (or become) way stations on an alternative route to improve schooling. Our study of this possibility began in May 1974 under the auspices of the National Institute of Education, School Capacity for Problem Solving Group.

We began our study by interviewing leaders of teachers' centers whom we already knew because of previous studies of public school projects in open education and of new elementary curriculum programs stressing "active learn-

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ing." (These previous studies were published as *Developing Open Education in America,* Devaney; and as *Curriculum Development in Elementary Mathematics: 9 Programs,* Devaney and Thorn). We followed our acquaintances' leads to a widening network of centers, the majority of which could trace their inspirations back to the Elementary Science Study and other active-learning curriculum projects, and varying attempts by Americans to learn methods of informal British infant schools. From information about the content of these teachers' centers' existing informal communications and assistance giving, and from direct questioning, we wanted to assess their interest in a wider information and resource exchange and their capacity to give help to newcomers in the field. We sought to define the feasibility, substance, process, and dimensions of a more formal networking arrangement that might encompass technical assistance.

We did not have a definition for "teachers' centers" as we began, and we soon learned that the characteristics we had attributed to all in the initial group were by no means common among them or among all the enterprises calling themselves, variously, teacher center, teachers center, teachers' center, or teaching center. From May through September 1974 we talked with leaders of 44 centers and heard and read about at least that many more. After analyzing our interviews we still did not have a proper dictionary definition but we had a spelling: *teachers' center.* The apostrophe, connoting the possessive, seemed most apt for the set of organizations we had been talking to, because each is a program providing continuing education for practicing teachers (mostly elementary teachers), which aims to be responsive to *teachers' own definitions* of their continuing learning needs rather than to school administrators', college professors', or curriculum committees' imposed agendas. Such a program may be a *place* where teachers come to work together and receive instruction, or share self-instruction; or it may be a *staff of advisors* who go out to help teachers in their schools, working in the same spirit of finding teachers' own starting points for improvement. Thus the widely used term *advisory* is incorporated within our embracing definition of teachers' center.

The organizations which contributed to our study are *similar* in the following ways:

- They offer teachers fresh curriculum materials and/or lesson ideas, emphasizing active, exploratory, frequently individualized classroom work—not textbook and workbook study.
- These programs engage teachers in making their own curriculum materials, building classroom apparatus, or involve them in some entirely new

learning pursuit of their own so as to reacquaint them with the experience of being active, exploratory learners themselves.

- Teachers' center instructors are themselves classroom teachers, sharing their own practical, classroom-developed materials; or they are advisors—formerly classroom teachers—who view their job as stimulating, supporting, and extending a teacher in her own directions of growth, not implementing a new instructional model or strategy.
- Attendance at teachers' center classes is voluntary, not prescribed by the school district; or if indirectly required (for instance, as a way to spend release time or to earn advancement credits), programs offered are based on teacher's expressions of their own training needs and several choices are offered.

The teachers' centers included in our survey are *dissimilar* in origin, leadership style, sponsorship and institutional setting, financing, theoretical grounding, programming, subject matter emphasis, scope, and scale. Nevertheless, the interviews document not only information sharing and visiting among them, with generous assistance by experienced people to beginners, but also attendance at several national meetings and regional seminars over the years and participation by several subgroups in continuing mutual problem solving projects.

Tracing an Informal Network

Reports about conferences, visits from and to other teachers' centers, and about centers exchanging reports, curriculum materials, and other records of their experiences indicate to us that there is a nation-wide, loose but operating hookup among teachers' centers that meets Matthew Miles' definition of a "network"—that is: "A dispersed structure permitting low-energy access to trusted competence. Appropriate information, energy and other resources can be easily located from physically dispersed nodes to solve local problems" (1975, p. 213).

Do the teachers' center people we interviewed wish to talk only with each other? What about the other folks who might like to talk to them? Although we started our study with a group of centers identified with "open education" or "active learning," it was not our intention to stop there but rather to see how far information and resource sharing among teachers' centers could spread and still be meaningful. We talked with several teachers' center leaders who avoid identifying themselves with any particular instructional approach and whose purposes are expressed simply as introducing teachers to curriculum alternatives and supporting them in change.

What seemed to be common among all of them was their disposition to consider their own *local* purposes, programs, and problems as the source of most of the expertise they have to share, as well as most of the motivation they feel to learn. The majority of interviewees said they would value wider contacts than they now had—to pool ideas, to learn, to teach, to expand the dialogue about the philosophical and professional issues which have given rise to centers, to problem-solve about financing and "institutionalizing" centers. But they felt that such communications would be productive only if participants shared basic premises and experiences.

The Premises Linking Teachers' Centers

We think such basic shared premises and experiences are the source of the trust that Miles speaks of in his definition of networking—they are what makes it easy for busy and widely separated people to be in easy touch with each other. A generalized statement of the premise shared by teachers' centers we interviewed is: *Teachers must be more than technicians, they must continue to be learners. Long-lasting improvements in education will come through inservice programs that identify individual starting points for learning in each teacher; build on teachers' motivation to take more, not less, responsibility for curriculum and instruction decisions in the school and the classroom; and welcome teachers to participate in the design of professional development programs.*

Why Teachers Go to Teachers' Centers

There is a lingo around some teachers' centers which sometimes annoys straight spirits who lack a bent toward humanistic psychology or counterculture style. It's sort of an upward, onward, inward with the crafts and joy of earthly living and folksy sharing melange. Yet teachers who haven't given a thought to becoming "self-renewing persons," dropping out, or confronting the system spend their own time and money in teachers' centers. They do it because centers give them access to cheap, simple "survival" tools: homemade, child-appealing, individualized lesson materials and methods.

Support is not just handy, useful, available *things;* it is approachable, practical, credible-to-teachers *people;* and an *atmosphere* of informality, acceptance, and immediate helpfulness. Courses do not have to be signed up for several weeks in advance; they do not last for weeks or months; they do not cost a lot of money; no one compels the teacher to attend; the teacher may initiate

her own course or special project at the center. These advantages have the effect of giving the teacher control over some piece of the working environment or assignment. The importance of this sense of control can hardly be exaggerated in reference to those American teachers whose jobs have changed so rapidly and drastically that they feel they have lost power to help children learn.

Gaining Control by Relaxing Focus

Desegregation affects many teachers this way. Lillian Weber, director of the Workshop Center for Open Education at City College of New York, writes that those teachers who define their responsibility as teaching *all* the children—together—still face inevitable frustration if they have to meet heterogeneously grouped classrooms with only the traditional pedagogy of homogeneous organization, textbooks, and workbooks.

> How often they faced failure in their work was revealed in their numerous expressions of hopelessness about being able to teach *anything* to many of the children. They spoke about poor discipline, about behavior problems; they discussed "problem" children. They were quite aware that the traditional structure of schooling—homogeneous and wholeclass—did not "work" for many children. . . .In the situation in which a teacher related to a whole class, trying to bring everyone in the class to the same close focus, anything that disturbed the pinpoint focus became annoying.
>
> . . .In the new context of acceptance of *all* children, with a commitment to their educability, the teacher faced the problem of how to set up the room so that she/he would have time and freedom to relate to those who had been problems and failures in the single-dimensional context of whole-class teaching. . . . (Summer 1974, pp. 8-9)

How the teacher changed the set-up of the classroom and the manner of relating to children, as a result of teachers' center help; what new things (and how many) they brought into their rooms to move away from "pinpoint focus"—these new decisions were unique with every teacher. The adaptations expressed the teachers' view of school requirements and children's needs, their own strengths and weaknesses, and the support, new curriculum, and new stances toward children learned from center advisors helping in the classroom. The early results of teachers' practical, personalized enrichment in the classroom curriculum materials and activities were generalized in Weber's words, "It did seem to be easier to live in our kind of room" (ibid.).

Preference for Homemade Stuff

An easily overlooked factor promoting the teacher's sense of coping is the homemadeness of the materials teachers' centers offer to diversify the focus in the classroom. To have teachers make their own classroom materials is beneficial—not just because handmade things are cheap (and don't have to be sent away for and waited for)—but because they are more likely to possess the capability of being individualized for the teacher as well as for students. In choosing a curriculum item which addresses a specific classroom problem, and then in making the item, there is opportunity for the teacher to learn the content implicit in the material and to formulate her own instructional goals for using the material with children.

It is, of course, not unheard of for teachers to engage in mindless busy work constructing trivial gadgets, and there is not always learning to be gained, in proportion to time expended, in making many copies of the same item. Teachers' centers also try out and then recommend commercial materials and apparatus—usually things with many possible uses rather than items targeted to a single learning outcome.

The Teacher Studying the Child

Teachers come to teachers' centers hoping that the formula for better living in a boring or hassled classroom is more and varied curriculum materials. These are an answer, but only a partial one and not all that centers have to offer.

Most participants initially use a center to find a limited array of new lesson materials and activities with which to meet wider levels of achievement in the classroom, and to provide work inducement for children whose attention cannot be sustained for a whole day by textbooks and workbooks. Many participants feel satisfied and stop coming to a center once they have achieved this goal. But there is another group for whom success with materials is an incentive to keep returning to a center. In assembling an increasing diversity of materials, they discover they need more than things; they have to learn how to make decisions; to provision, organize, and orchestrate flexible time and materials, and active children. These teachers move to a point where "finally you have to concentrate on the critical tool in the classroom, which is *you*."

In saying that, Olive Covington sums up nearly ten years of her own experience as a Washington, D.C., public elementary teacher and as director of Washington's Advisory and Learning Exchange. She means that a teacher's own pinpoint focus on subject matter gradually and subtly blurs: "You begin to look at what kids do most naturally, to see what engages their attention.

Gradually you change your assignment to yourself—from 'I've got to study the material' to 'I've got to study the kid.' You realize that your preparation to teach has helped you know a lot more about *what* you teach than *who*."

Teachers who maintain participation in a teachers' center over several years are mainly those who change their focus from studying subject matter to studying children (or who sought from the start to focus on children). These teachers encounter values and theories about children and how they learn that differ fundamentally from conventional assumptions prevailing in American schooling.

A Differing View of Children and How They Learn

George Hein points out that two views of the status of childhood have gained some acceptance well after the beginnings and shapings of the American public school system. These ideas are that childhood is "a particular stage or state of growth [having] value in its own right" and that "each individual childhood is unique."

> The development of national education systems late in the 19th and early 20th century was dominated more by Victorian ideas of obedience, discipline, and national concerns for a pliant and properly trained labor force than by conceptions of the value of individual children and respect for their specific attributes. (1974)

The valuing of childhood for its own sake is expressed in the aphorism, "Play is the work of the child," Hein notes. This truism suggests that in play, children are accomplishing something *mental*—some important construction of intellectual capacity that is prerequisite for their later ability to cope with the world. It contradicts the idea that children do such mental preparation solely or mainly under adult direction and in school.

There is more than aphorism to support belief in the child's purposefulness. A school of psychology, termed "developmental" and mainly known by its major figures Dewey and Piaget, presents evidence supporting the theory that from babyhood all the child's exploratory and playful sorties into the near surround of objects and people are *purposeful* searches for meaning, greater understanding, and control over the world. In this learning theory the function of teaching is defined as studying the child's action in order to read his purpose, identify what may be paths to learning for him, and provide him subject matter that will stimulate, correct, clarify, enrich, extend. Such a theory of learning is in contrast to the prevailing American view of the child as the recipient of knowledge, and of the teacher as packager and deliverer of that knowledge.

There is another aspect in which the valuing of childhood, here and now, goes against the American grain. David Hawkins senses an attitude of "moral futurism" in Americans' goals for children's schooling:

> . . .I feel we are busy building a society in which children are not wanted. I am not talking about the birth rate but about the *estate* of childhood. Much of our present zeal for reform in education is consistent with the interpretation that we don't really like children and want to get them over being children as early as possible. . . .This is true in the slums for one kind of reason—the widespread destruction of livelihood. It is true in the suburbs for another—the pressure for increased household income. . . .The futurism I see in much present thinking accepts the child only as the future adult. . . . (1974, pp. 41-42)

Schooling's Product: Skills and Jobs

But futurism is a theme which has always pervaded American public education in the sense that the schools have been conceived as the turnstile to economic advance. Although Jencks and others have claimed that the function of schools as escalators to higher social class status is mainly myth, the myth continues to shape Americans' expectations for public education.

What children are supposed to do in school is learn "skills" that will prepare them to obtain and hold jobs that will in turn earn them higher socioeconomic status and rewards than those of their parents. In the past, "average middle class American" adults have not greatly valued learning for its own sake. A prevailing attitude has been that learning for pleasure is for leisure class dilettantes or bohemians, not for serious working people, and certainly not for children whom the teacher as a public employee has responsibility to prepare for jobs.

Thus it is part of the American tradition to judge schools' worth and teachers' worth in terms of children's future employability rather than their present enthusiasm to learn. To be able to impart skills is the need which leads many teachers to teachers' centers. Once there, a teacher may gradually transform that impulse into an intent to motivate children's own search for and pleasure in learning. In so doing, she will not abandon the original aim to teach competency. It is important to understand that the alternative substance and style which sets teachers' centers apart from conventional teacher education have been shaped not to reject competency as a goal but to support it.

What developmentalist educators are saying is not that children (and teachers) don't need to be competent, but that traditional teaching ignores or represses the learner's greatest resource: his or her own background, interests,

strengths, needs—in sum, *purposes*. Competence grows from practice in carrying out purposes in a setting as close as possible to the learner's own world. That competence is acquired through intrinsic purpose, is an accepted tenet of learning in all areas of American life except formal schooling. Teachers' centers are, at root, an attempt to apply this tenet to learning *in school*.

A Differing View of Teachers' Professionalism

Applying developmental ideas in public schools imposes a different style and order of work on teachers. Many observers who endorse developmental approaches in theory have claimed that they are impractical because American teachers can't project the increased resourcefulness, independence, and decisiveness of judgment required, and they will not put forth the extra effort.

Is it naive to treat teachers as professionals? Do teachers have the capacity and will to take more responsibility for instruction and school curriculum decisions? Do teachers as a group see themselves as professionals with responsibility for their own continuous learning and professional advancement, or as wage earners punching the clock and following the curriculum guide? It's possible that the latter view of teachers lies more in the eye of the public than in the performance of teachers at large, for, as David Hawkins notes, our society as a whole lacks "serious sustained concern about childhood" and "has allowed the public management of children—schooling—to remain in low social esteem among the professions. . . ." (ibid., pp. 39-40).

In any case, it is not only teachers' performance but their low social status that accounts for proposals to improve teaching by making teachers guarantee pupils' learning "outcomes." It is ironic because such guarantees are, in fact, nearly meaningless unless teachers are helped to achieve higher status than that of technicians. Teachers must be enabled to influence more factors than just behavior in the classroom in order to guarantee outcomes: they must contribute to the syllabus, curriculum materials, decisions on use of time and space, decisions on evaluation of achievement, and climate of the school. To achieve this level of practice—that of a professional, making well-informed judgments on a case-by-case basis, assisting and being assisted by colleagues—requires intensive effort on the part of many teachers who have heretofore conceived of their roles as merely following orders. Not all teachers, perhaps not a majority, but enough to make a substantial difference, are willing to invest great effort because they see the inadequacy of the technician role to meet students' needs. In the face of the stress, frustration, and defeat that many teachers feel in schools today, extra effort can only be induced by offering support and trust.

ESSAYS ON TEACHERS' CENTERS

Management vs. Mutuality As Change Strategies

Charity James, the English teacher-educator who has observed and worked in American schools for more than five years, is one who considers that supporting and trusting teachers is the practical way to improve schools because it conforms to the nature of the learning enterprise.

> Changing schools requires an attitude which is not so widespread as it ought to be: a faith in teachers. It is no longer acceptable for administrators and university teachers and curriculum developers to behave towards teachers with any sense of superiority. The whole notion of "teacher-free" materials was a disastrous form of contempt. Teachers have an immensely difficult task which few of their detractors would like to undertake. If you seek to use them to create a millennium on the cheap, you will rightly fail. They need and deserve . . .trust and support. . . .Hence there has to be a complete break from the scientific management tradition in American education, which is always based on a linear industrial model, whether one of full integration of production through delivery or of a wholesale/retail variety. The program [for changing a school] must be at base one of mutuality and exchange. . .at the grass-roots level. (1974, pp. 88-89)

The inadequacy of the "linear industrial model" and the superiority of grassroots exchange are not just matters of developmental educators' bias. The Rand Corporation reports from a study of 293 federally supported change agent projects (Title III, Bilingual, Vocational, Right-to-Read) that such external "treatments" as money, instructional or management systems, curriculum packages, and outside experts do not deliver the looked for changes in schools (1975).[1] Everywhere that Rand researchers found improvements, they attributed them to mutuality and exchange among local school people, who substantially adapted the outside treatments to local needs.

The activities Rand identified as being part of mutual adaptation and exchange are strikingly similar to those engaged in by teachers' centers: continuing, *on-line planning* in which teachers scale down a project's original goals and themselves come to grips with difficult ideas and circumstances; frequent staff meetings in which teachers and other school staff communicate, *exchange* problems and solutions, and reinforce each others' successes; *concrete ongoing training* responding to immediate problems as they arise; *local materials development* in which teachers involved in the change project work

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[1]Some of the findings of this study are reported more extensively in Milbrey McLaughlin, "Pygmalion in the School District: Issues for Staff Development Programs," see pp. 75-82.

together; the gathering and sustaining of a *critical mass* of teachers to receive support and assistance.

The conventional educational wisdom is that validated models of successful projects avoid the waste of each locality "reinventing the wheel." But Paul Berman and Milbrey McLaughlin, principal investigators for the Rand survey, infer from the findings that in order to get good local implementation of a model, a school staff may have to apply as much reinventing of the model "wheel" as if they'd started out to invent their own.

Principles which the Rand researchers extracted from their data in 1975 were common sense to experienced practitioners who started teachers' centers. For instance, Lillian Weber writes of the ideas which in 1969 shaped the Advisory Service to Open Corridors, which operates alongside the Workshop Center at CCNY:

> That change in schools depends on the teacher is to us self-evident; for this reason, we have shaped our support structure so as to focus on the teacher as the agent of change. We concentrated on change in teacher education, on advisor support for teachers, on easing the constraints in institutional settings on teacher efforts to change. We emphasized that the teacher as agent of change had to be a volunteer; only voluntary and reflective commitment would produce the energy necessary for the painful and difficult process of change. . . .Her relationships were now with individual children more than with the whole class unit, and new understandings were essential.
>
> For all these changes the teacher needed help, and the advisor's task was spelled out: help in observing and understanding children; workshops in curriculum; help in organizing the setting to support changes – all with the commitment to respect each teacher's unique way of changing. In addition. . .there existed the community of teachers. . .that would support, politically and psychologically, the change each teacher was making. The exchange of experience among the teachers in the community would broaden the base of any one teacher's perspectives. The communal assessment and reassessment process would help maintain the direction of change. (Spring 1974, p. 1)

Trust: A Prerequisite For a Teachers' Center

The notion that if you give trust and support to teachers, they will learn to trust and support each other and evolve into an exchange – of information, experience, workable practices – is an essential component of the teachers' center concept; even a criterion. This idea has been called idealistic, impractical, too small scale to make a difference. But if you credit the Rand findings about the inadequacy of external financial and technological treatments for

schools—in any case, the probability that such outside resources will diminish in the immediate future—you are left with few places to look for a new resource for improvement. Could the teacher be the "new" resource?

Given the frequency of the teacher's self-perception of being embattled, powerless, drained, oppressed, or just plain bored, the suggestion that teachers could be the source of extra energy for the improvement of schooling might seem laughable. But what if you just nonjudgmentally accept both views of teachers? That they are turned-off, just going through the motions, defeated: *and* that they are able, committed, interested. What if you recognize that the condition of many teachers is that they feel a need to change but can't get up enough energy, since they feel they'd have to change more than themselves?

You might offer a resource for learning which teachers could tap with low expenditure of energy. Matthew Miles' definition of an informal information sharing network ("permits low energy access to trusted competence") suggests that in a low energy situation the first ingredient must be trust. Thus, you might offer quick, short, trusted learning episodes—trusted because they are taught by successful classroom teachers, not professors or supervisors, or R&D people. You invite participation, never require it, because you cannot afford to bleed off that little store of available energy in resentment or resistance to compulsion. You might offer help that supports rather than exhorts, works alongside rather than supervises. In short, you might start a teachers' center.

Charity James sums up these kinds of functions in one verb: "liberate." Though she is not talking about teachers' centers—rather about needs of innovating teachers in general—her comments are applicable to centers.

> I don't think one should think in terms of changing school administrators or teachers; that seems impertinent. But I do think of liberating them—from unexamined assumptions, from anxieties about process, and as far as possible from nervousness about ignorant criticism. Thus the "liberator" is a partner to the individual's own inner wishes, not an external change agent.
>
> My work as a consultant has made me understand more fully than before what Socrates meant about the educator as midwife. One may, of course, bring in ideas of one's own, but they are useful only if similar values are springing up among the people one works with. Ideas have to be lived in the hearts, minds, and viscera of the people who are going to put them into practice; otherwise the process will be obedient, not creative. . . .It is much harder to carry out an idea than to suggest it, so people in the field need time with someone like-minded, time to voice their hopes and anxieties and to begin to think in some detail around practical possibilities. . . . (1974, pp. 61-62)

Voluntarism and Professionalism

As Charity James points out, teachers need time away from immediate duty to begin to work out practical new possibilities. Whose time? This is an important issue for centers, stemming from trust in the professionalism of teachers. If teachers spend their own time in a center, there is reason to believe they are serious about professional purposes. Volunteering teachers can be easily separated from those who just go through inservice motions. However, many in teachers' centers believe that if they wish to reach a constituency wider than a self-chosen few or those who are at their wits' end, they will have to compensate teachers for time spent: complacent teachers feel no "yearn to learn" spurring them to invest extra efforts; teachers with family responsibilities have little free time to give. Among centers seeking a wider constituency, one finds compensations for time which serve as additional incentives for participation and blur the concept of pure voluntarism. The range of compensations includes school district advancement credit, graduate degree credit, and release time.

If a center is designated by a school district as a place teachers can spend inservice days granted in their contracts, or if it is funded by federal grant money for specific training purposes, the issue of voluntarism is defined in terms of teachers' choice of activities within the center, not choice of whether they come to the center or not.

Leadership—Another Prerequisite

The existence of trust in teachers' initiative for change, even if feebly energized, and of trust in their choices about what will improve their teaching, even if at merest starting point, are prerequisites for a teachers' center. James' statement above suggests another: leadership. The evidence of inservice programs, put together by committees of teachers, which have been no different in content or attitude toward learners than courses previously designed by district administrators or college professors, argues that change in teachers' working behavior and attitudes is not just a matter of transferring power from administrators to organized teachers. It is a matter of leadership, persistently and supportively demonstrating closer attention to children and new possibilities for teaching.

Teachers' centers express the idea and expertise of one or more unusually competent and committed persons, who are not only superior teachers but superior leaders. Centers do not survive without that. Yet, it is also essential to understand that they do not exist and survive without the reinforcement of the leader's idea by thoughtful followers. Charity James states the back-and

forthness between leadership and followership which is characteristic of teachers' centers: "One may of course, bring in ideas of one's own, *but they are useful only if similar values are springing up among the people one works with*" (emphasis added). A prerequisite for a teachers' center is a person or a group who are voicing values being thought about and needs being felt by a critical mass of local teachers.

Stimulating Teacher Growth and Decisiveness

Values and theories held by the leaders and followers in teachers' centers have often been misunderstood. They do not promote a panacea called the "open classroom." Instead, people we met in teachers' centers expressed a position which can be roughly generalized as follows: if you create a setting in which the teacher can express her own professional needs, and be supported in working on them, then that teacher will be far more likely to create a classroom setting in which the student, working even a bit of the time in his or her own style, will reveal learning needs, both those that are unique and those held in common with other students in the class. In this way you help the teacher gain far more clues to good teaching than are available in conventional pedagogy. But you do not give her the answers. Those she must work our for herself—with help.

No one we met in teachers' centers assumed that all teachers do or will feel secure working in this way. On the contrary, they acknowledge, many teachers want a formula for teaching and insist on the obligation of supervisors to provide it. But teachers' centers assume there is another substantial group of teachers who do already or gradually will come to address their ongoing educational needs in terms of professional growth: increased responsibility for curriculum decisions rather than skills training.

There are no data which show whether teachers' centers' participants by and large have come seeking "growth" and feel that's what they get, or whether they mainly are looking for some guaranteed curriculum plan or technique. Both kinds of motivations are seen as legitimate by teachers' center leaders, who generally believe that long-term growth can come from awareness of need. They feel confident that the homemade, helpful atmosphere of the teachers' center, featuring hands-on learning and peer teaching, can release the ingenuity and increase the self-confidence of those teachers whose problem-solving talent has not been nourished in conventional teacher education. What happens to this talent later on—whether it progresses from the how-to's into the why's of teaching—is a crossroads question for many teachers' centers now. Leaders of centers recognize that a center's

nuts-and-bolts activities need some intellectual framework in order to support teachers who accept the challenge to make more independent decisions about their classrooms. Good decisions in any profession stem from rich *understandings* underlying technique.

Also, some observe that without a theoretical framework, what goes on in a teachers' center may be organic and funky rather than technological and plastic, but in sum it's still skills training, not professional growth. The result is that after two years or so of occasional workshopping teachers may stop coming to a center, perceiving that they have exhausted its curriculum. This is the reason that growth is a practical necessity rather than just a philosophical leaning for a teachers' center. And not just growth in numbers.

Every well-established center which sustains its vitality does so not only by attracting newcomers but by attending to the growth of old-timers: teaching them to teach workshops themselves; encouraging them to work as advisors to other teachers; stimulating them to invent their own curriculum materials; showing them how to observe and document what individual children do in class over time and to find patterns and meanings in their activities; engaging them in research. In such ways, experienced center participants plow back their own earnings into that mutual resource exchange which is one criterion of a successful teachers' center.

Assessing Teacher's Thinking

Centers differ greatly in the extent to which they define the teacher's growth in resourcefulness as involving *study of children* as well as knowledge of new subject matter and practical curriculum materials. But any center which has the purpose of increasing teachers' capacity to enrich curriculum is implicitly encouraging some measure of study about how children learn. This is a task that is not always spelled out, for fear of intimidating teachers who hesitate to think of themselves as intellectuals. But to be thoughtful and decisive about individual children and about what they should know is not an outlandish role for a teacher. To apply thought to experience and thus to formulate ideas about what is common and what is unique in each child's learning is certainly not beyond the intellectual powers of the average, experienced teacher. It is simply a matter of professionalism, as David Hawkins writes:

> I think teachers – not all teachers but those who have a genuinely professional feeling about their work and who have learned and grown in their profession over a long period of time – do know more. . .about the psychology of learning than is written in the books. . . .Teachers express themselves through the work that they do, through the human beings who have been their pupils, and not by

> writing little papers. . . .People who haven't been in the academic world feel, often incorrectly, I think, that they don't have the means to express themselves, to develop theoretical ideas. In fact, I think they more nearly have the means than do the rest of us, because they have the raw experience, or rather, the experience they have culled and analyzed over and over again to guide their practical work. What we want to do is somehow to get those ideas not only into practice but into the marketplace where they can be argued. (1974, p. 81)

Extending and Elaborating Teachers' Understandings

The kinds of ideas that teachers' center participants take from and put back into their practice are described and analyzed in a study of teachers' thinking which was conducted by Education Testing Service researchers Anne Bussis, Edward Chittenden, and Marianne Amarel, and published in their book *Beyond Surface Curriculum* (1976). The study, supported by the Ford Foundation, was done in spring 1972 by long, structured interviews with 60 primary teachers. Some had received help from Education Development Center's Follow Through in-classroom advisors; others from a teachers' center (the Workshop Center at CCNY, Creative Teaching Workshop, or Community Resources Institute, all in New York City). All of the teachers interviewed were attempting to diversify their curriculum, move away from all-day whole-class teaching, informalize the atmosphere and relationships in the classroom.

The ETS group investigated teachers' thinking about the subject matter content and curriculum materials in their classrooms and also about "the child as resource for instruction." The latter topic involves whether and how the teacher builds instruction around perceptions of children's mental and emotional needs, their interests and choices, and the social interaction within the class.

The researchers found that expertise and confidence about using informal curriculum (rather than textbooks) are a function of teachers' well-elaborated and articulated thought connections between their own "curriculum priorities" and the "surface curriculum" in their classrooms. Teachers expressing difficulty and anxiety about manipulative materials (especially natural/environmental materials) were those whose curriculum goals for children were simply "grade level facts and skills" and "good school behavior."

> Although these teachers introduced new materials and activities into their classrooms, they had difficulty seeing a connection between their innovations and their most deeply held priority. They seemed to believe in an abstract way that worthwhile learning occurred in activities other than math and reading

> assignments, but they were struggling to understand it and were frequently worried about it. . . .They were confronted with certain surface activities and materials (e.g., block building, a rabbit in the room) that they could not comfortably interpret as curriculum. . . .In one sense, the problem these teachers were experiencing can be construed as a difficulty in elaborating and extending their understanding of worthwhile learning. (Ibid., pp. 57-58)

To develop this understanding is the purpose for most teachers' center emphasis on teachers exploring curriculum materials themselves, on an adult level, and making their own materials for the classroom. The ETS study underlines the critical need for centers to help teachers think clearly about their own educational goals—what they want to teach, what they think children can learn and learn from. The study also illuminates the need for support and activities in the center that are not only hands-on but *minds-on*, if teachers' centers are to achieve their purpose of increasing teachers' participation in decisions about curriculum.

Teachers' Centers' Effects: Issues in Evaluation

The ETS interviews assess participants' *intentions* and *decisions* about teaching rather than their performance or their students' performance. Such evaluation is consonant with the purposes of most teachers' centers—to improve teachers' sense of coping in the classroom, of resourcefulness, and of decisiveness. The ETS interview also evidences the researchers' awareness that conventionally scientific measures of "outcomes" have produced little reliable information because of the impossibility of separating and controlling all the "inputs" at work in a school. The ETS interview technique is also representative of a new movement among educators—including many in teachers' centers—to reject standardized achievement testing of children as a means of judging their learning, and by extension, teachers' competency.

To accept teachers' perceptions and intentions as evidence of performance requires a basic faith in the wits and the will of the respondents. Those who do not go that far with teachers may find a study such as the ETS interviews interesting but not convincing. People in centers also keenly feel the need to know, for themselves as well as for critics, what effect a center has on teachers' performance. Informal, anecdotal evidence is powerful—principals assigning "difficult" children to participants' classrooms, parents' support, supervisors' praise—but hard to convey broadly. What seems to be needed in order to judge centers' effectiveness, both in their own terms and in terms that will be convincing to outsiders, are several kinds of instruments.

Documentations of Participation

Earliest and simplest is careful collection of participation data—not just numbers but documentations of who comes, when, how often, to do what. Such data can be interpreted by information from questionnaires and/or interviews of a sample of participants about their backgrounds in teaching, length of teaching, their teaching setting, reasons for coming to the center, etc. A detailed report of such a study, which also included systematic observations of what teachers do in the center, is available in a North Dakota Study Group monograph about the Teacher Curriculum Work Center in Chicago. The investigator, Sharon Feiman, points out that such a study provides precision for outsiders about the nature and quality of a center's offerings and participants' response even though, with each teacher selecting individual activities, "it is not possible to describe uniform treatment and outcomes" (1975, p. 34). It could be instructive, however, to compare that kind of documentation with matching documentation of conventional inservice available to teachers in the same school district.

It seems important to conduct follow-up studies of the same sort in a few years' time to see whether there are new patterns of participation: Is there a whole new group of participants? If the same group, are they doing the same things?

Gauging Classroom Effects

Given the low state of teacher morale in many school districts, evidence that some substantial number of teachers (in proportion to the staff and facilities available in the center) volunteer to participate in a center is significant in itself. Later, an assessment of the *productivity* of that investment of time is necessary, according to centers' own criterion of aiming to increase teachers' resourcefulness, responsibility, and growth. The ETS interview study is one way of getting at that kind of assessment. Another is a study that Sharon Feiman has conducted. Through teacher interviews and classroom observations, she has observed how Chicago center participants use particular curriculum materials they have made in the center and will find out what the teacher thinks children learn from them.

Attempts to evaluate a teacher's performance both in a teacher's terms and in an outside observer's terms seem most capable of meeting demands for objectivity, and at the same time of respecting the teacher's context. Having the objective observations come from a teacher's students and their parents is an approach the North Dakota Center for Teaching and Learning uses to evaluate master's degree intern teachers. The children's and parents' evalua-

tions of each teacher are deduced from structured interviews administered by undergraduate students in the college. The informal interviews center on the same classroom factors that structure the evaluative interviews done with teachers. Thus it is possible to compare a teacher's assessments of her own competency with the opinions of 12 students in the class and of their parents. Results of all the interviews are the subject of a feedback session held between the teacher and the college advisor.

Because they flow from thought which is perceived as tributary and not mainstream to American educational tradition, teachers' centers need to document what they do and what teachers take from them in terms which can be understood by educators and laymen who are not familiar with teachers' centers' basic assumptions. What needs do teacher participants bring to centers? In what specific ways do teachers' center programs fill these needs? To what extent and how does the instruction in a teachers' center improve teachers' ability to impart "basic skills"? How do teachers in fact change their practice?

For this sort of evaluation and interpretation there are no adequate resources present now in teachers' centers. If centers are seen as having potential for serving more teachers, researchers, especially in universities, are needed to work with people in centers on these documentation and evaluation questions.

Questions of Survival: Issues in Finance

The needs for evaluation arise from pressures to assess teachers' centers' potential as more comprehensive inservice programs. These pressures come from within centers and from outside.

Tight money forces the crunch in which centers that started out with simple agendas and limited purviews now frequently must make a case for themselves in terms of school district policy and finance. The fading of venture money for school innovation causes foundations and federal grantors to recommend that grantee centers become "institutionalized" into a school district or a school of education. This is seen as a strategy not only for gaining the security of the institution's "hard money" but also as a way to influence the status quo institution from inside.

However, teachers' centers which are viewed by outsiders as interesting, and even estimable staff development programs in their own small settings, for their own volunteer constituencies, supported by "soft moneys," seldom are considered as realistic programs for the teaching staff at large, to be supported by school district funds.

This is no wonder and no failing on the part of centers, because for the most part they never set out to build comprehensive district-wide inservice programs. On the basis of their experience, though, many now believe that centers might show more results for the school district dollar than presently funded staff support programs. Thus the question is raised whether teachers' centers can realistically compete for the district's hard dollar.

Centers already within school districts do not necessarily see institutionalization as a guarantee of security. Slashed budgets in many districts threaten all nonclassroom personnel, and therefore teachers' center staff, with reassignment to the classroom. For centers already within school districts, as for independent centers, future funding is fogged in uncertainty. However, although chasing grants and preserving positions drains off a lot of energy, it does not seem to demoralize center leaders or de-rail them from their main priority: teaching teachers in a new way. This is neither naive nor irresponsible, because past experience of center personnel tells them the surest security for survival is the teacher participants, who will mobilize support for refunding. Whether such backing will be sufficient in leaner days ahead is an open question.

Diversification of Funding

At present most centers parlay combinations of resources into a survival budget. The package may include a foundation grant (or several); contracts with school districts for specified training; participants' fees and subscriptions; volunteer contributions of time and materials; sales of materials and publications; and federal or state categorical grants. Among the latter sources are various state programs; federal Title I, Title III, "mainstreaming," EPDA, bilingual, and desegregation categorical programs; Teacher Corps; NIE; Head Start and Follow Through; National Science Foundation. Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and New World foundations are philanthropies of national scope which each have seeded several centers and thus cultivated the teachers' center idea. But local foundations and civic groups have played an equal role in initiating centers, and continued local support will be more crucial in centers' future survival and growth.

One of the hallowed principles of philanthropy as well as government funding has nettled teachers' centers and seems likely to be even more troublesome in the era of austerity which faces schools. That is the notion of seed money. This suggests that a new and experimental idea after three to five years' time should be able to prove itself so sound and sensible that the experiment can be institutionalized. Grantors cannot be expected to subsidize seed-

lings indefinitely or to suspend critical judgment, but they might be urged to consider that they share with grantees the responsibility for easing them into the status of institutionalization. It does not seem realistic to expect that a center in three to five years' time can be either self-supporting or taken protectively under the wing of the institution it challenges. A center is, after all, an "alternative social invention," Matthew Miles notes. Although not radically different from organizations it departs from, a teachers' center has typical alternative features of small size, valuing of process over product, collective decision making, and regard for participants as whole persons, not just employees (1975, pp. 214-15).

An establishment organization like a foundation or government funding agent may be able to ease institutionalization. It can help interpret to the establishment school system that the teachers' center's alteration of some of the normal practices of educational systems can be understood as reasonable and natural outcomes of basic premises, rather than as romanticism, doctrinaire thinking, or defensiveness about their work. If this is not understood, the institution's attempts to smooth out the alternative's lumps probably will destroy whatever benefits the establishment seeks to incorporate.

College-Based Centers

Is the university school of education a more congenial and secure institutional host for a teachers' center? A study of ten Teacher Corps projects at colleges and universities in 1969-70 concluded that, in general, the college faculties "didn't want basic change in their institutions" (Edelfelt et al., 1974). In another study, Miles also predicts that most teacher-preparing institutions will strongly resist centers' priority for teachers' involvement in programming because faculties are interested more in maintaining their own jobs and preserving existing procedures for certification and accreditation (1975, p. 201).

If this is indeed the rule, several exceptions to it can be found—centers at, or associated with the Universities of Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts-Amherst, Minnesota, New York-Cortland, CCNY, North Dakota, Southern Illinois, and Syracuse. Although a teachers' center in a college may not represent the approach of the majority of the education faculty, a number of professors in widely spread colleges of education look hopefully at the teachers' center idea.

Among these are not only professors who see that the handwriting on the wall—declining preservice enrollments—spells the need to improve the faculty's drawing power in the eyes of practicing teachers, or those who want to

work in partnership with the state department of education in certifying teachers' beginning and continuing competency. There are also faculty who want to work with teachers as colleagues in studies of children's learning and who want to pursue new curriculum development with classroom practitioners.

Kenneth Howey and Fredrick Hayen at the University of Minnesota are convinced the teachers' center can be the meeting ground in which professors encounter teachers one to one and thus learn how to reform the college of education. From their experience as co-directors of the Minneapolis/University of Minnesota Teacher Center, they describe how the college can begin to rethink its mission in the context of participation in a teachers' center:

> A major university should be engaged in research and experimentation in teacher training and not teacher training per se. Serious exploration is needed not only in terms of the best way to train teachers but of what different teacher roles may in fact be needed.
>
> Teacher training programs should be conceptualized in terms of school programs and the role needs of teachers in those programs. . . .The teacher competencies stressed in a training program should be role derived from teachers operating in the specific context for which one is preparing teachers.
>
> College-based teacher educators must seriously re-examine what viable role the college can play in the continuing education of teachers but also explore what more substantive role experienced teachers should play in the initial preparation of teachers. (1975)

Moving into Systems: Issues in Governance

The serious re-examination of inservice education by some college professors is matched by the interest of state and federal bureaucrats and organized teachers. These interests demonstrate the pressures outside as well as inside centers to examine centers' potential to serve more teachers. There are several reasons for the interest from outsiders. The immediate one is declining enrollments of school children, causing decline in new teachers hired and thus reduction in the opportunity to update and upgrade schools through new hiring. You have to try to revitalize the veterans instead.

Beyond that, there is the experience of the curriculum reform projects of the 1960s and the change agent projects currently, which indicates that attempted changes which do not involve teachers' participation and change will not accomplish much. As demands have not diminished—though resources

have—for public schools to solve major problems of the society at large, reformers have begun to look at inservice as the most hopeful remaining approach to school renewal.

At present, however, few local school districts provide a comprehensive means for staff renewal. Instead they rely on salary incentive schedules which provide percentages of salary increase as teachers accumulate post-degree credits.

Inservice As a Demand of Organized Teachers

The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers have brought inservice issues to bargaining tables in negotiations with local school districts. The provision of opportunity for professional development is presented as the responsibility of the employer. As NEA's position paper on inservice states:

> As school district programs change, [teachers] should not invariably be required to use their own time to learn how to do their jobs better. *The cost of providing opportunities for continuing in-service education is a charge the employer—not the employee—must bear, and it must be considered a "cost of doing business".* (Fall 1974, pp. 2-3)

In addition, getting rid of "mickey mouse" inservice courses has sometimes been made a part of demands to improve working conditions. An NEA brochure, *How the Local Education Association Can Help Improve In-service Education* (1975), states:

> In-service education [must] be more closely related to day-by-day job needs and made a part of the job assignment.
>
> In-service offerings [must] be based on assessment by teachers of their own job needs.
>
> [Teachers should] have a preeminent voice in determining both the content of their in-service education programs and the delivery system—the ways and means teachers think are most meaningful for acquiring new skills, insights, and knowledge.
>
> In-service education [must] be related broadly to a teacher's total professional development and overall competence as well as being focused specifically on improving or acquiring a designated instructional technique. . . .

Both NEA and AFT have undertaken extensive surveys of teachers' centers, and both have advised local affiliates wanting to start centers that they should try to get school district funding for them and insist on teachers' control over programming.

However, teacher organizations do not judge that teachers' centers as they are presently constituted represent a viable means for more comprehensive in-service. For instance, an advisement to the eight associations involved in NEA's project in "Teacher Centered Professional Development" comments that

> the governance or advisory structure [in most teachers' centers] remains uncertain and ill defined, needs assessment [of teachers] is based more on hunch than on data, and low priority is being given to securing released time for in-service education as part of teacher job assignments. (Luke, 1975)

New York's United Federation of Teachers (AFT), in proposing its own pilot center stresses that a center needs to appeal to a much broader population—*ordinary* teachers: "Many of these [teachers' centers] were initiated, and are maintained, by extraordinary educators and have collected a following of extraordinary teachers." In "Proposal for a UFT Teachers' Center" (1974), the UFT calls for a narrower focus in a center upon basic skills, but at the same time a more eclectic offering of instructional techniques—the full range from behaviorist-oriented, to developmental-based reading programs, for instance.

Teachers' Centers and Governance

Because they have never defined their "target audience" as extraordinary teachers—have in fact sought to meet the ordinary teacher at her point of need—teachers' centers early on began to be concerned with policy and policy makers in schools. Thus, centers' concern with governance does not just arise as they look for hard money. Many centers have concerned themselves more and more with the relationships their teacher participants have with other components of the educational system.

Experiencing the impact on teachers of district curriculum mandates, prescribed methods and texts, personnel policies, regulations about spending, achievement tests, principals, supervisors, custodians, other teachers, and parents, has resulted in centers defining their constituencies beyond teachers and planning strategies beyond teacher instruction. Advisors going from teachers' centers to assist teachers in their classrooms have also worked with

principals, supervisors, curriculum coordinators, janitors, and parents. Centers have invited parents to join teachers in workshops. Most invite principals and supervisors also. A number of centers run projects especially for principals to help them cope with the central administration and to experiment with change from a management to a leadership style. Many centers work in a collegial relationship with school of education faculties and include student teachers in workshops.

However, such initiatives to gain outside support for practicing teachers have always been undertaken in the context of the teachers' center priority for *teaching* teachers. Usually a center tries to cope with outside impinging forces instance by instance, in the field, and on a scale no larger than a single school.

In contrast, other enterprises calling themselves teacher centers have sought to deal in advance with factors which impinge upon teachers and to deal with them in the formal policy-making arena, by negotiating collaborative governance procedures affecting entire school districts, groups of districts associated with a university, or a whole state. Such procedures are undertaken with the conviction that they are prerequisite for teacher renewal.

The "Teaching Center"

The Office of Education (National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems) has been involved in planning and funding new mechanisms for teacher renewal for the past five years. These collaborations among school districts, schools of education, and state departments of education, also have gradually gained the name "teacher center" or "teaching center." The issues which are seen as priorities in these organizations are summarized in a series of discussion questions which Allen Schmieder of the Office of Education posed at the February 1975 conference of the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education.

1. What is the relationship of governance to Teaching Centers? Who is involved? How are decisions made? Whom do they represent? How is policy implemented? How does the organized profession fit in?

2. What is the financial picture of Teaching Centers? Is it hard or soft money? Who puts in what, and how much? If external funds are used, what is the plan for program continuity?

3. What are the incentives and what are the costs for participants to be involved? For college personnel? For teachers? For community representatives and/or parents?

Schmieder's list goes on to include questions about how to elevate the concept of training to one of professional development, how to relate programs in centers to program development in schools and universities, and other issues. But "governance" comes first.

Vested-Interest Linkages

Leaders of teachers' centers are skeptical about organizations which place governance tops in priority. Officially designated policy makers and duly appointed administrators will adequately protect the interests of several linked institutions, but they have a very difficult time gaining credibility with or responding quickly and flexibly to school-building practitioners.

Matthew Miles echoes teachers' centers' doubts about multi-institutional complexes as a strategy for teacher renewal.

> The root assumption [for multi-institutional linkages] is that existing institutions are, in effect, functioning perfectly well, perhaps with some limitation due to difficulties of energy or information transfer among them, and that the creation of linkages is the sole feature required for the creation of an effective, or newly effective institution.
>
> The basic benefits. . .of course, are that the resources and expertise of existing institutions are not by-passed or ignored but used more productively and effectively, in a coordinated, planful fashion. . . .
>
> The costs or risks [of linkage], of course, are that inhabitants of each [institution] naturally tend not only to protect their vested interests, but ordinarily expect that simple extension and expansion of existing procedures is all that is needed to solve the problem at hand. Institutional blinders tend to restrict the development of innovative solutions, and the clash of interests tends to result in mutual vetoing operations. . . .Since most institutions are already multifunctional, use of the [inter-institution] linkage model tends to produce a giantized version, a linked system in which each partner institution tends to retain all its old functions and to compete with other partner institutions for scarce resources. *The likelihood of close focus on a particular goal (in the teacher centre case, the development of teacher confidence and competence) tends to be obscured, blocked, or watered down amid a maze of competing goals* (in this case, accreditation, certification, employment, salary advancement, product delivery, special educational services, and the like.) (1975, p. 210, emphasis added)

Most teachers' centers recognize that eventually they have to cope with governance issues, but they think that the structures evolved to balance the in-

terests of teachers, central office administrators, colleges, and state departments, should be as different from those pervading traditional educational policy making, as the teachers' center values about teaching and learning are different from traditional instruction. A teachers' center's main stock in trade is its quality of "low energy access to trusted competence." It cannot accept structures of governance that would destroy that.

Teachers' centers such as those at Minnesota and Syracuse Universities have evolved governance patterns which seem to have produced genuinely new institutions rather than linkages of vested interests. These centers treat teachers' day-to-day practical needs as priorities, and have gained a constituency of continuing participants who function as a resource exchange. These centers seem to demonstrate that concerns for teaching and concerns for governance are not necessarily contradictory.

Separation from universities or from school districts is not a prerequisite for creating trust among teacher participants. Many teachers' centers are the brain children of professors or of district administrators. But *independence* in conceiving and running programs for teachers is prerequisite. The capacity to respond almost immediately to teachers' needs and to respond in unforeseen, experimental, flexible ways—without going after a series of approvals from higher-ups—is prerequisite.

A Smaller Arena

A different perspective to take on the issue of professional independence is to consider it as a function of *scale*.

Embedded in the very ground from which teachers' centers have sprouted is the reality that they cannot be entirely independent. The citizen activist, do-it-yourself movement which has nourished teachers' centers also will demand to look at their results in terms of the performance of teachers. The demand for "accountability" does not press only on teachers but on all professionals and purveyors of goods and services.

In a public education system, citizens hold teachers to an obligation to carry out in a reasonable, consistent, and efficient way the public policy of education. It follows that, while it is generally more efficient for a relatively autonomous professional to make determinations of what is reasonable and consistent on a case-by-case basis, a teacher cannot be allowed simply to hark to her own drummer. There is a delicate balance to be maintained between a teacher's obligation to the community—spelled out in federal law, state and local constitutions and codes—and obligation to personal-professional standards and values. Maintaining this balance becomes infinitely more difficult if

the teacher is out of touch with the students' community. Distance deprives the teacher of the myriad bits of informal but essential data and supportive relationships she must have to inform daily professional judgments. Some virtuoso teachers perform brilliantly at a distance, following their own firm intent and intuiting somehow what they must know about community. But an ordinary teacher who must work without communication with parents dares to be little more than a technician following the rulebooks provided by administrators, whose magisterial powers are meant to protect the teacher from meddling parents and the parents from incompetent teachers.

By the same token, an ordinary teacher who is enabled to teach within the context of community consensus and support, can perform at a professional level to both self and parents' satisfaction. Tensions and frustrations of American public education notwithstanding, there are thousands of teachers in hundreds of communities who do perform this way. And there is anecdotal evidence in almost every community and every parent's and teacher's experience that what is needed to correct the fundamental imbalances in schooling is not bigger and bigger arenas for policy making (and not just slightly smaller arenas—as in big-city schools decentralization experiments) but much, much smaller arenas where experience and opinions can be exchanged and decisions can be made mutually.

Can Americans really be persuaded to believe that smaller is better? The need for a small arena in which to make decisions about inservice is implicit in the structure and constituency (both teachers and parents) of most teachers' centers. The crucial importance of small scale to policy making in a democracy is experienced in every aspect of American public life, but nowhere more stringently than in public schools. And within public education, small scale is particularly crucial in dealing with the problem of teacher renewal. Expanding scale drastically shrinks opportunities for teachers' personal participation in decisions that determine the ways they have to re-educate themselves. Staff *training* can be achieved on a system-wide scale, but professional *development* that is consonant with parents' and community's priorities for children, can only be achieved in a small setting.

Replicating Teachers' Centers

Now may be the opportune time for those worriers about schools who have been disillusioned with the "breakthrough" projects to look with interest at teachers' centers. Perhaps these are arenas sufficiently modest in proportion and grassroots in population to get a grip on fundamental issues which must, after all is said and done, be dealt with on a person-to-person level.

Centers have shown success on a number of tasks, some centers taking on just one, others many. These include providing practical inservice and a setting for teachers' professional exchange; helping parents to participate in classrooms; bringing parents and teachers together to plan new designs in instruction; bringing principals and teachers together; refreshing and inventing curriculum materials; providing a setting for college of education faculty and practicing teachers to cooperate in revision of teacher preparation requirements; bringing together university researchers and teachers to extend each others' understandings of children's learning.

Teachers' centers do not start out by trying to orchestrate a lot of these tasks all at once. They take on a few tasks they think they can do. That accomplished, a center may go on to another. Or a center may be frustrated in an initial task, such as improving classroom practice widely in a school, and thus take on another aspect of the educational scene – principal, or parents – or seek help from a college professor. This exigent characteristic in the tasks a center undertakes, in company with the improvisational quality of the organizational forms the center evolves, make it difficult for outsiders to analyze an established center's experience into separate components – or even stages of a process – which might constitute a model for building a center in another place.

People in teachers' centers try to dissuade newcomers from thinking of a center as a model for change, and encourage them instead to conceive of it as a place and people with specific purposes. If you are looking for an additive or a panacea to package and market to masses of anemic teachers, a teachers' center is the wrong place. If you would try to divest a center of its personality – its people, place, time, problems – and get down to its generalized basics in order to replicate it, give up. The basics of a teachers' center *are* its personality – leadership, followership, grassroots idiosyncracies. Any new center must start with its own. Trying to abstract and segment someone else's experience, you will lose their essence – and not find your own.

Such cautioning suggests that teachers' centers may have a very short future indeed. Perhaps so. But looking back on how much interest they have aroused in a short time, you can also wonder whether there may be broad undercurrents in education that will carry them farther than can be predicted now. It seems to us that the teachers' center movement has reached a juncture at which further progress depends on the growth of the idea both in conceptualization and in influence upon people and institutions. In conceptualization, centers seem to express a need to move their programming in two ways in order to keep their idea fresh: toward meeting more conventionally defined needs of teachers whose priorities for children remain largely basic skills, and

also toward deepening and extending the learning of teachers who have already experienced the nitty gritty aspects of teachers' center activity and now look for more long-range, theoretical learning.

As educators in teachers' centers have not been entirely in control of their development to date, so other influences outside centers may spur and shape their future growth in ways and to an extent that cannot be forecast now. Where schooling continues in the model of retailing knowledge or of engineered educational systems, teachers' centers will have little to contribute in the long run. But where communities and teachers together collaborate to suit schooling to children instead of the other way around, teachers' centers have prospects to survive and thrive.

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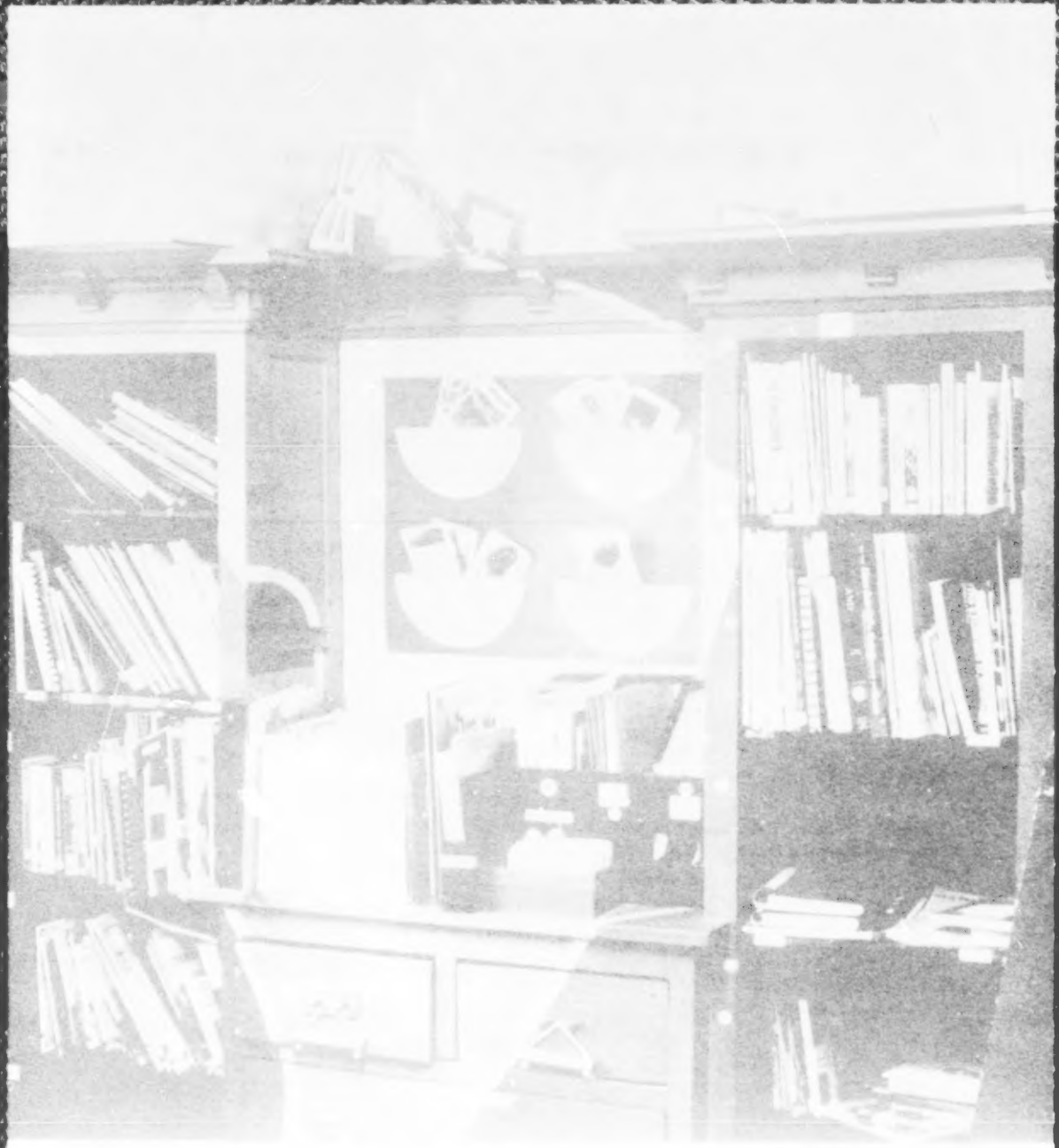

Deskside Reading

This is not a conventional bibliography of reference works about teachers' centers, but a personal "eclectia" of recent professional reading I have remembered. It includes some work published by people in teachers' centers. (A bibliography of curriculum materials and guides for teachers produced by centers is included in the *Teachers' Centers Exchange Directory.)*

If I haven't read it, it isn't here. This bespeaks a longstanding and probably permanent prejudice against big, unannotated bibliographies which no single human mind can digest. Omission of a title here says little about a book's worth. It may be that the work has not come to my fragmented attention, or that I have not found time to read it yet, or that I have read it in some time past so that my recollection does not retain enough essence and nuance to attempt annotation now. I do not apologize, for I consider this simply the educator's ordinary condition, but I caution that what follows is not the work of a scholar or a librarian. The annotations do not plumb the depths of a book: they indicate what particularly impressed me and what I think will be useful or interesting to people involved with teachers' centers. Readers who like this kind of reference list are invited to share their own with me at the Teachers' Centers Exchange. If we receive several, we can share them around.

—— *Kathleen Devaney*

Alberty, Beth, and Dropkin, Ruth. *The Open Education Advisor.* New York: Workshop Center for Open Education, 1975. 92 pp. $3.50. Order from Workshop Center for Open Education, 6 Shepard Hall, City College, 140th Street and Convent Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10031.

What does an in-classroom advisor actually do? How do advisors prepare for this type of work? How are they sustained in it? This book, punctuated by a running commentary by Lillian Weber, founder and director of the Open Corridors program in District 3, Manhattan, quotes advisors' talk and journals. For example:

The advisor helps the teacher by working with children in her classroom. By what she does with children and by how she uses materials with them, the advisor models some of the possibilities for the teacher. . . . The advisor also explores

with the teacher ways. . . .of helping children with reading difficulties or those who have trouble concentrating or who have special needs. . . .(p. 16)

The advisor becomes a listener to the teacher, creating an opening wedge to break down the teacher's isolation by providing a supportive and nonjudgmental atmosphere in which the teacher can struggle with problems. This opening is widened when the advisor promotes exchange and sharing between teachers and arranges visits to other classrooms. . . .It is furthered as the advisor works with the teacher towards understanding and acceptance of parents' perspectives and participation. . . .(p. 25)

One key to advisor's effectiveness is the existence of a collegial advisory group, so that the advisor is not isolated, thrown totally onto her individual resources, or stuck in a constantly giving-to-others role. The CCNY advisory provides time and a place—the Workshop Center—for advisors' reflection, group discussion, curriculum experimentation, visits to other schools, and the diversification of close communication with parents, CCNY professors, and each other.

Bograd, Harriet. "Is There Life After Seed Money?" New Haven, Conn.: The Teacher Center, Inc., May 1976. 22 pp. $2.00. Order from The Teacher Center, Inc., 425 College Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.

This monograph case study by a lawyer/board member evaluates and examines possible sources for funds for her Center, which was founded in 1971 as an independent, nonprofit organization and in 1976 had a budget of $60,000. The report evaluates possible funding sources in order to decide which to pursue. These include federal programs, local school district, state department of education, higher education, foundations, corporations, social services agencies, community fund-raising, and fees for services. All in all, a consciousness-raising book for a center which must provide at least partial self support: "We keep working to clarify our values and program priorities, and consider carefully how obtaining funds from each possible source might affect our ability to implement these values and priorities."

Brugelmann, Hans, ed. *The Teachers' Centre: A Collection of Expectations and Experiences.* SAFARI Case Studies of Innovation in Education, Occasional Publication no. 3. Norwich, England: Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, 1975. 67 pp. $1.00. Order from The Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, Norwich NR4 7TJ, England.

A case study, full of convincing detail, presented mainly in quotations from interviews at a teachers' center in "small city" England. The researcher/author is a German educator who worked in 1974 with the SAFARI group evaluating effects of curriculum innovation in England. His portrait reveals strong similarity

in basic issues (teacher participation, teacher governance, role of center leader) between British and American teachers' centers, while indicating the more fully developed status of some British centers. The author's subjective, slice-of-life evaluation methods—as well as the content of the report itself—are a source of fresh ideas and a convincing argument for nonconventional evaluation.

Bussis, Anne M.; Chittenden, Edward A., and Amarel, Marianne. *Beyond Surface Curriculum: An Interview Study of Teachers' Understandings.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1976. 194 pp. $12.50. Order from Westview Press, 1898 Flatiron Court, Boulder, Colorado 80301.

Surface curriculum refers to the "manifest activities and materials in the classroom." The authors, members of the Early Childhood Research Group at Educational Testing Service, report here on their findings about a deeper level of curriculum as understood by 60 teachers who participated in teachers' centers and advisory programs, and who were interviewed in depth. The deeper level of curriculum refers to teachers' purposes and priorities for children's learning, as well as their conception of the child's capabilities and resources. The study found wide differences in understanding among teachers interviewed and wide variation in what they valued in assistance from teachers' center advisors. The book highlights the importance of teachers understanding the underlying purposes of materials and methods encountered in a teachers' center. It strongly suggests that deeper reflection on *teachers'* thinking about *children's* thinking is a prerequisite for running a teachers' center.

Center for Teaching and Learning. "Staff Development Workbook for Classroom Teachers and Principals." Grand Forks: Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, March 1976. 40 pp. Single copies free. Order from Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201.

The purpose and tone of this mimeographed workbook are set by a quote from an unnamed teacher:

> *All I want is for my outsides to match my insides. . . . How to do, to organize, to prepare, to allow these inside beliefs to become real, working classroom practice. My insides demanded many things, but then when I walked into the classroom something else would happen. . . . (p. 1)*

The workbook is based on the discovery by dean Vito Perrone and University of North Dakota faculty that in-depth teacher interviews, which they had designed for evaluation of their master's internship program in informal education, worked well for staff development. The interviews stimulated teachers' reflection on classroom reality and possibilities for growth. This workbook, which can be used by individuals or a group, is composed of short paragraph

readings (from writers like Philip Jackson and David Hawkins) juxtaposed with suggested exercises for the teacher. For instance: "Survey all the things you do in your classroom. List them according to priority. Proclaim a moratorium on the bottom 3/4 of your list. Focus your attention and strength on the upper 1/4. . . ." The readings and activities are organized around "components of growth: awareness/reflection, trust, opportunities for growth, risk, working plans, conflict." The workbook contains the North Dakota Teacher Interview schedule and a discussion of how it can be used for staff development. Also included are the Child Interview, designed to be given to 12 children in the interviewed teacher's classroom, and the Parent Interview, administered to one parent of each interviewed child.

Cook, Ann, and Mack, Herb. *The Word and the Thing: Ways of Seeing the Teacher*. Grand Forks: North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation, Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, 1975. 23 pp. $2.00. Order from Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201.

This monograph is written by the directors of the Community Resources Institute, an early teachers' center in New York City concentrating on providing advisory services to teachers in their classrooms. Looking back on what they have learned, the authors comment that advisors need to challenge and stimulate as well as support teachers—advisors need to facilitate a teacher's "growth and introspection over a long period of time," as well as offer simple "how-to" help. In chapters on "The Teacher as Planner" and "The Teacher as Researcher," Cook and Mack emphasize the need for the advisor to teach teachers to observe, record, and analyze pupils' classroom actions and products.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *Public Education*. New York: Basic Books, 1976. 100 pp. $7.95.

This book is an elaboration of the John Dewey Lecture given in 1975 to the John Dewey Society. The theme is the "configuration of educative institutions" in American society, from the family to television and including the public schools. Cremin says each educative institution is not just accidentally but intentionally educative, and each "mediates, screens, and interprets" the teaching of all the others. Cremin does not mention teachers' centers, but in fact mediating, screening, and interpreting, as well as teaching, are equivalent functions of a teachers' center. The successful center not only offers its own curriculum to the learning teacher, but selects, explains, combines, and heightens pieces of curriculum available from the university, the public library, museums, government, communications/entertainment media, etc.

The existence of "an ecology of education" rather than just one formal schooling system means that the people who continue learning throughout life are

those who have developed "educative style," which is, Cremin says: "a set of characteristic ways in which an individual engages in, moves through, and combines educational experiences over a lifetime." This is a concept which may help to illuminate the educative style of teachers' centers as they seek to stimulate and enrich teachers' learning.

An individual with a discernible educative style and a measure of educative autonomy will approach a particular educational institution or configuration of institutions with his own purposes, his own agenda, and his own habits of learning. The result will surely be a unique interaction, the outcome of which cannot be predicted by looking at either the institution(s) or the individual in isolation. Moreover, by intent or happenstance, an individual will develop his own network of "educationally significant others," which may or may not correspond to any established configuration of education. (pp. 40-41)

Cremin's final chapter is a vision of and agenda for the reform of university colleges of education—or for revising the university itself so that it focuses broadly on the whole ecology of education in American society. Cremin reiterates Alfred North Whitehead's ideal that education's aims are not merely social and scientific but essentially religious: to inculcate duty to the living and reverence for life.

Devaney, Kathleen. *Developing Open Education in America: A Review of Theory and Practice in the Public Schools.* Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1974. 191 pp. $3.75. Order from National Association for the Education of Young Children, Publications Department, 1834 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

Origins of the teachers' center concept and practice are explained and described in this report of a comparative study of American and English implementations of the open classroom as an innovation. The thesis is that American innovators in the '60s erred in expecting teachers to make changes without support from other factors in the school system. These necessary supporting elements are: the principal; a nonevaluative resource person to help teachers in their classrooms—the advisor; a changed conception of curriculum and of evaluation; collaboration and collegiality among teachers, and cooperative relationships with parents. The book gives examples of all of these factors in operation in successful open classroom projects in American public schools. Among projects described are: the Open Corridors Advisory Service at City College of New York; Mountain View Center for Environmental Education at the University of Colorado; the University of North Dakota Informal Education Program; staff development at Grape Street School in Watts, Los Angeles; the Philadelphia Teacher/Parent Center and other teachers' centers; and the Bussis-Chittenden-Amarel ETS study of the effectiveness and components of the advisor role. This book was the forerunner of the Teachers' Centers Exchange.

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Dropkin, Ruth, and Tobier, Arthur, eds. *Roots of Open Education in America*. New York: The City College Workshop Center for Open Education, 1976. 201 pp. $5.00. Order from Workshop Center for Open Education, Room 6, Shepard Hall, City College, Convent Avenue and 140th Street, New York, New York 10031.

A superb edition of the proceedings of Lillian Weber's April 1975 conference at the Workshop Center for Open Education. Speeches, oral history reminiscences, and old photographs capture essences of American experiences, institutions, and movements that preceded and prepared the way for contemporary informal education practice. As Weber explains in her introduction,

Its evocation of the past was organized with the idea of confirming the continuity of those strands in our national life that encouraged self-development. . . .It created the opportunity for firsthand encounters with men and women who had played a vital part in programs predicated on faith in the educability of all *people. (p. 6)*

Among the speeches are Vito Perrone's "A View of School Reform," tracing informal reforms in this country since 1840; Paul Nash's "Some Economic Questions," postulating that the chief enemy of informal education is the fear and often obsessive concern for setting boundaries and controlling people that result from economic hard times; and Joseph Featherstone's "Dewey's Synthesis: Science and Feeling," in which he stresses that Dewey moved from progressivism's concern for science and rationalism to a concern for a balance of science and feeling in education.

But the majority of the book consists of reminiscences by leaders of important educational experiments and experiences of the past: the one-room rural school, the New York Yiddish *shule*, the settlement house, Highlander Folk School, Citizenship Education Movement of the South, inspiring the civil rights movement. Myles Horton's description of how Highlander fostered the Citizenship Education Program is of interest to anyone with a mind to start a teachers' center:

People always draw up grand detailed plans; they make all kinds of analyses. Well, that's a good way not to do anything. If you really are serious, then you do just one thing, do it well, and let it spread on its merits. And if it can't spread on its merits, it's never going to spread. . . . If the people don't want to peddle it, it's no good. (p. 113)

Edelfelt, Roy A., and Johnson, Margo. *Teacher-Designed Reform in Inservice Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1977. 70 pp. Single copies

free. Order from National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, 1201 16th Street N W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

The final report of an Office of Education-funded project in which the NEA assisted staffs of three schools to "determine the content and design of inservice education at the building level on the basis of the kind of staff they want and need to become." A detailed case study of an elementary school (Parkview School, Bellingham, Washington) staff's four-year development of its own inservice emphasizes procedural steps taken by teachers, starting with a clear delineation of their own "model school" and with parents' goals for children's learning. The report also analyzes the role of the local teacher association in this process. Among the authors' conclusions are:

Progress in a project like this is more likely when the major emphasis is not directly on good teaching but on the factors that contribute to good teaching, such as knowing more about oneself, about students, about students' families, and about the aspirations of both parents and students. (p. 56)

Giving teachers time to observe and study learners by providing personnel to spell teachers can be tremendously effective, particularly when clear purposes for study and observation are set by the teachers themselves. (p. 56)

The project demonstrated that the local association can be effectively involved in initiating, monitoring, influencing, and forcing evaluation of activities in curriculum and instructional improvement and inservice education, but that the local district must assume responsibility for managing and financing them and be accountable for the outcomes. . . . (p. 57)

Elementary Science Study. *The ESS Reader*. Newton, Mass.: Education Development Center, 1970. 236 pp. $2.50. Order from Education Development Center, Inc., 44 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160.

The Elementary Science Study was the seedbed from which many teachers' centers have sprouted and all centers have taken inspiration and curriculum. This collection of papers written by ESS staff in the 1960s offers an encounter with some of the ideas at the heart of teachers' center practice. There have been many other influences, but none more formative than ESS. The original ESS influences have been modified, sometimes extensively, in the face of experience and exigency, but the style persists. Here are essays by David Hawkins ("Messing About in Science," "I, Thou, It," "On Living in Trees"), Philip Morrison ("The Curricular Triangle and Its Style," "Experimenters in the Schoolroom"), George Hein, Eleanor Duckworth, William Hull, Edith Churchill, and others.

Elliott, John. *Developing Hypotheses about Classrooms from Teachers' Practical Constructs*. Grand Forks: North Dakota Study Group on Evaluation,

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Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, 1976. 52 pp. $2.00. Order from Center for Teaching and Learning, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201.

This monograph describes a project in which 40 British teachers from 12 elementary, junior and senior high schools were invited to work collaboratively on developing a practical theory of "inquiry/discovery" teaching.

Rather naively, we assumed they were all anxious to "get cracking" on some systematic reflection on their classroom problems. (p. 5) [But] *these teachers had little sense of their practice not matching their dreams. They assumed they were already "inquiry/discovery" teaching quite successfully. . . . With the majority of teachers, our problem was* how to motivate them *to adopt a reflective stance to their practice. . . . (p. 8)*

The researchers thus stepped back and developed a plan to help teachers become aware of their behavior by "self-monitoring" through a triangulation procedure: teachers receiving accounts of a teaching episode from three differing points of view—their own (through an interview following a lesson); a participant observer's (with tape recordings and photos of the lesson); and selected students' (by confidential interviews). During the project the staff acted as participant observers, but by the end several of the participant teachers were able to function as observers for each other. The triangulation data convinced teachers that their classroom behavior was not consistent with their teaching ideals, and impelled them to move from "formal/structured/directed" teaching behaviors to experiment with "unstructured/open-ended approaches."

From the triangulation data the project staff and teachers developed and tested a series of hypotheses about how "inquiry/discovery" teaching can gradually be implemented in classrooms where students are lacking in "confidence in their own reasoning powers." These hypotheses are listed and discussed. For instance:

2. In order to. . . move from a formal to an informal situation, teachers may have to refrain from the following behaviors. . . . a) Changing Topic. . . b) Positive Reinforcement. . . c) Selective Critical Questioning. . . d) Leading Questions and Statements. . . e) Inviting Consensus. . . f) Question/Answer Sequence. . . g) Introducing Factual Information. . . h) Not Inviting (Student) Evaluation (of Information). . . . (pp. 36-37)

The report concludes with a number of staff hypotheses about what kinds of teachers can take part in a self-monitoring approach toward professional growth and how to help them. The project found that self-monitoring shakes teachers' self-confidence. It doesn't work—because it is too ego-threatening—with teachers whose entire personal identity depends on their teaching, nor with

teachers who have ambitions to become administrators. Tolerance for loss of self-esteem can be developed by casting self-monitoring as a research task rather than as evaluation.

The role we tried to adopt focused on the study of practice rather than the practitioner. We tried to set our appraisals of practice in a context of dialogue with the teacher. . . .The more access a teacher has to other teachers' classroom problems, the greater his ability to tolerate losses in self-esteem. . . .The more a teacher is able to tolerate losses in self-esteem, the more open he will be to student (and observer) feedback. . . .The more a teacher is open to feedback, the greater his ability to self-monitor his classroom practice. . . The more able a teacher is at self-monitoring his classroom practice, the more likely he is to bring about fundamental changes in it. (pp. 45-47)

Hapgood, Marilyn, ed. *Supporting the Learning Teacher: A Source Book For Teacher Centers.* New York: Agathon, 1975. 302 pp. $10.

In 1973-74, Marilyn Hapgood, then an advisor in the Center for Open Education at the University of Connecticut, Storrs, gathered and wove together these 40 short articles about British teacher centers and the earliest U.S. centers. Among the papers describing American centers are short descriptions by Lore and Don Rasmussen about the Philadelphia Teacher/Parent Center; Amity Buxton and co-founders of the Teachers' Active Learning Center, then in San Francisco, now in Oakland; William Fibkins of the Bay Shore, New York, Teachers' Center; Edward Yeomans of the Greater Boston Teachers Center; and Leon Boucher writing about the Maryland Teacher Education Center.

Hawkins, David. *The Informed Vision: Essays on Learning and Human Nature.* New York: Agathon Press, 1974. 246 pp. $8.95. Order from Schocken Books Inc., 200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

David Hawkins was the first director of the Elementary Science Study, one of the American curriculum development projects which was a precursor of teachers' centers. He is now the director of the Mountain View Center for Environmental Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder, one of the earliest and most influential teachers' centers. As a pioneering curriculum developer, as a philosopher of science with a deep curiosity and enthusiasm for the learning of young children, and as a major interpreter of the work of John Dewey, Hawkins has spoken and written extensively in the past 15 years on the most critical issues in American education. Many of these works are gathered here with "guiding threads" and modification in a commentary by Hawkins.

In the United States we have just lived through a decade in which authoritarian or technocratic ideas of educational progress have been in vogue. Improvement comes down from above or in from beyond. It comes from na-

tional curriculum development projects or from other forms of "educational R and D" sponsored by federal or private foundation grants. Progress is, in a word, engineered.

But of course the populist view is wrong too. In infant and junior schools in England one sees among the innovative ones a fair measure of similarity, often a bit too much of it. But the good teachers are in command of what they are doing. They want help but they have the bit in their teeth and no ring in the nose. . . . When one backs off one encounters a sort of professional network of local inspectors or advisers. . . . Such persons spend real time working in schools, they are involved in intensive holiday courses for teachers. . . they constitute a sort of professional circulatory system. . . . Such advisers have a dominant attitude of respect for the independence of the teachers they work with. They see themselves as teachers also, and as facilitators. They have a great deal of personal authority, the best of them, but they are not seen as Authorities. (pp. 77-78)

Joyce, Bruce R., et al. *ISTE Reports I, II, III, IV, V.* Palo Alto, Calif.: Inservice Teacher Education Concepts Project, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, 1976. Complete set $20 (plus $1 mailing). Individual reports $5 each, except for Report I which is $3 (plus $1 mailing). Order from National Dissemination Center for Performance-Based Education, School of Education, Syracuse University, 150 Marshall Street, Syracuse, New York 13210.

The "conceptualization phase" of a national study of inservice education is described in these reports commissioned by the National Center for Education Statistics and the Teacher Corps. Report I, *Issues to Face*, is Joyce's comprehensive analysis of the structural problems present in contemporary inservice and his prescriptions for policy reform. He identifies four major dimensions or *systems* that need to be linked together more effectively: *"governance* and creative collaboration," *modes* or contexts in which inservice takes place, *"delivery systems"* (incorporating incentives, settings for training, staff), and substance of training, both content and process. A recurrent theme is the need for assistance in the teacher's classroom following training – a staff role much like that of the advisor as presented in this book of essays.

Continuous [inservice training] *programs need to be designed in which needs are mutually defined by teachers and schools and a variety of staffing options are developed which identify some staff who are better at presenting content and others who are better at, and better placed, creating follow through in the school district situation. The implementation of such programs might solve many current problems in inservice. (p. 22)*

Report II, *Interviews: Perceptions of Professionals and Policy Makers*, summarizes 1,016 interviews with teachers, administrators, professors, and policy

makers designed to raise major issues about inservice. The major point of agreement among all interviewees was that college professors' role in inservice education is sharply declining, and classroom teachers themselves are an under-used resource for training. No one was satisfied with "the governance, structure, substance, or process of present inservice" and no single approach was identified as a solution. The Introduction underlines the need for entirely new thinking:

Presently, there are nearly 45,000 education professors in the United States. Possibly 3/4 of them are engaged at least part-time in inservice education activities. In addition. . .there are nearly 40,000 consultants or supervisors of education whose primary tasks include inservice education. . . .(Moreover, principals and vice principals, reading instructors, media and communications experts and other specialists have duties to serve as support personnel for teachers.) Thus, there may be as many as a quarter of a million persons in the United States whose formal jobs in education require them to engage as instructors in some form of inservice activity. This is about one instructor for every eight teachers. . . .If. . .leaders in the field feel a larger investment is required, then we need to look closely at the present patterns of inservice training, problem areas, and potential solutions. (p. xvii)

Report III, *Literature*, is a review of the literature on inservice. Reports IV and V contain 14 position papers on a wide variety of topics. Of these, the following have high relevance to teachers' centers: Marsha Weil, "Oversupply as Opportunity: An Exploration of Job-Sharing and Inservice Education" (in Report IV, *Creative Authority and Collaboration).* Richard M. Brandt, "The Child Study Movement" (in Report V, *Cultural Pluralism and Social Change).* Richard P. Mesa, "Implications for Inservice Education of the Urban/Rural School Development Program Experience" (in Report V). The latter analyzes the gains and pitfalls of "shared decision making" on project governing councils made up of balanced numbers of teachers, administrators, and community members. He also describes as the most effective inservice strategy "the resident professor model" – a teaching role much like that of the nonevaluative, supportive in-school advisor.

Lopate, Phillip. *Being With Children.* New York: Doubleday, 1975. 392 pp. $7.95. $1.95 paper. Order from Teachers and Writers Collaborative, 186 West 4th Street, New York, New York 10014.

A poet from Teachers and Writers Collaborative, Lopate's way of being with children in an upper West Side school in Manhattan is quite different from that of a teacher, and he acknowledges this. Infinitely involved and yet apart, Lopate writes about teachers' jobs in a convincing and illuminating way:

Visiting consultants give workshops in body movement, ecology, scratch-and-doodle slidemaking, non-violence. . . .There is no lack of stimulation. If

children and teachers sometimes walk around P.S. 90 in an anxious daze, it is not because they are "unenriched" but because they are starved for a way to integrate these peripheral excitations into a center that will hold. (p. 5)

. . .The critical map of the schools which [the expose writers] *had handed down was incomplete. If it showed very truthfully how some children were being squashed by their teachers, it failed to show enough the other instances, the normal everyday resourcefulness with which many classroom teachers meet challenge after challenge and which has to be seen to be believed—a selflessness that is accepted by them as part of their job, like firemen entering a burning building. (p. 11)*

This is no how-to book on inducing children to write poetry and do drama, although Lopate is talented, experienced, and wise in these matters. It is rather a novel-like personal account of life with children and teachers in a contemporary urban public school.

I began to get an insight into the mental life of a mediocre teacher. You start off with an ambitious six-week-project idea, the kind they're always writing about in teacher magazines. Hopes are high; intentions are good. But it does not quite catch fire as planned. You feel the energy drain out of the brain first, then the hands; a delicious letting-go takes over, like the pleasure of deciding to lose at tennis at precisely the moment when focus is becoming hard to keep. The pleasure of failing is in its termination of uncertainty. Then the alibis come rushing in to help: the group was too large; it was too early in the year; it was too late in the year; the parents didn't help; nobody helped; they were too young, too wild; their home lives are peculiar. (p. 151)

Lortie, Dan C. *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975. 284 pp. $9.95.

"This volume deals with a variety of issues in the organization of teaching work and inquires into various sentiments teachers hold toward their daily tasks." This description of the book by the author introduces his treatment of data from the history of teaching in America, a national NEA survey of teachers, and the author's own in-depth interviews with teachers in Massachusetts and Florida. Lortie makes clear that the public policy for education in the past has made teaching an easy-entry occupation with little requirement for continuing intellectual or creative effort in order to achieve the major rewards of job security and relationships with children and youth. He draws a profile of teachers as careerists with idealistic purposes, old-fashioned models for their work, feelings of isolation from other adults, and of frustration and uncertainty in technical aspects of their jobs. He characterizes the present "ethos" of teaching as stressing "conservatism, individualism and presentism," and he concludes that these qualities hinder the professionalization of teaching.

Conservatism will not result in a dynamic, changing occupation. Individualism will not produce intricate arrangements for collegial judgment. Presentism will not eventuate in growing, arcane knowledge possessed by teachers alone. In sum, unless teachers substitute professionally oriented values for those they currently express, they will be hard pressed to claim professional status in a centralized system of public education. (p. 228)

Mann, Dale, guest ed. *Teachers College Record*. "Making Change Happen?" issue. Vol. 77, no. 3 (February 1976). $3.50. Order from Teachers College Record, Columbia University, 425 West 120th Street, New York, New York 10027.

This is a collection of sobering, if not melancholy, reports on the results of the past ten years of federally funded attempts to "renew" schools and teachers. These analyses should be instructive to school people contemplating the new Office of Education teacher center program. The Rand Corporation's recent change agent study and evaluations of other projects provide the source for implications drawn by authors of three of the six articles. The introductory essay and "The Politics of Training Teachers in Schools," both by Dale Mann, stress the political nature of school reform and the inevitable resistance to change which occurs from teachers having different status and values from those of administrators and project designers.

The defensive characteristics of the nonvolunteer audience [teachers in inservice] *need some explanation. As a whole, teachers must try to perform virtually impossible tasks with a technology that is inadequate or simply wrong. Defensiveness and secretiveness are understandable attitudes where the circumstances demand a professional, pedagogical role performance even though there is no sufficient knowledge about what causes good teaching and learning. Also, because teachers recognize that they are supposed to perform intellectual tasks, and because their intellect is clearly on display in most kinds of professional interaction (especially in training sessions), the safest performance is the least performance. Thus, to guard themselves from negative evaluation, they simply clammed up. It is hard to train clams. (p. 331)*

Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin's article on the change agent study findings, "Implementation as Mutual Adaptation," emphasizes that successful reform projects are not *implemented* but are mutually *adapted*. She identifies three critical components to successful change efforts: "local materials development; concrete, on-going training; on-line or adaptive planning and regular, frequent staff meetings" (p. 348). In her second article in this issue, "Implementation of ESEA Title I: A Problem of Compliance," McLaughlin analyzes the experience of Title I and concludes that these "special educational programs for the disad-

vantaged" did not fail; they were never implemented. She cites several reasons for non-implementation: amorphously stated goals; lack of federal imperatives and incentives and failure to exercise federal authority over states and school districts; local administrators' reluctance to take risks on innovations and their disposition to take the money and sit tight; lack of knowledge about what poor children need and about successful strategies for teaching them.

John G. Wirt writes in "Implementing Diagnostic/Prescriptive Reading Innovations" that of the six such projects investigated by the change agent study, the only apparent success was the one which was implemented by administrative fiat. And this project did not last, partially because of teacher antagonism to being strong-armed. In the other projects, whatever implementation occurred seemed to be the effects of stretching the federal guidelines to bring in a reading resource teacher who worked very much like an in-classroom advisor.

"Parent Participation in School Innovations" by R. Gary Bridge, gives guidelines for deciding whether and how to involve parents in school reform.

"The Nonimplementation of EEP: 'All That Money for Business as Usual'" by Constancia Warren is an analysis of the failure of New York City schools' Experimental Elementary Program, owing to a lack of support for teachers and the "triumph of inertia" on the part of the board of education, site administrators, and the teacher union.

Perrone, Vito, et al. *Two Elementary Classrooms: Views from Teachers, Children, and Parents.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1977. 78 pp. $3.95. Order from Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 2460 Kerper Boulevard, Dubuque, Iowa 52001.

The audience for this book from the University of North Dakota Center for Teaching and Learning are inservice and preservice teachers preparing to make their classrooms informal, active, and responsive to individual children. The book provides "*source material* rooted in *real classrooms,*" as well as a format for reflection and analysis of one's own work. The views presented are transcriptions of in-depth interviews with teachers who had participated in the North Dakota master's degree internship program in informal education. One view is of a second-grade classroom of a teacher in her 20th year of teaching; the other of a second-year teacher teaching fifth grade. Following each transcription are summaries of the interviews the Center conducted with 12 children and then with 12 parents from each teacher's classroom. In the past four years the Center has interviewed about 400 teachers, 4,000 children, and 400 parents.

Another audience for this book may be school people who want to evaluate the effects of a staff development program on teachers. The Teacher Interview

covers the following aspect of a teacher's work: teachers' goals for children's learning, structure of the day, organization of the classroom and its materials, selection of learning topics and materials, discipline, teacher-child relationships, children's peer relationships, teacher-parent relationships, teacher's use of the community for learning, teachers' feelings, frustrations, and successes.

Pirsig, Robert M. *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. New York: Bantam Books, 1975. 406 pp. $2.25.

The author, a former rhetoric teacher and scientist, takes the reader down two streams: one the protagonist's personal story, and the other his analysis of the modern-day schism between science and technology on the one hand, and the humanities and arts on the other. As the re-integration of these forms of human thought in teaching teachers and children is a major theme in teachers' centers, Pirsig's thinking may be more salient and profound for teachers' center leaders than that found in most professional works. Pirsig's advice on how to repair a malfunctioning system in which he uses his motorcycle as a model, his exposure of the "myth of science" and his analysis of the function of the university in our culture ("the Church of Reason") are all relevant to teachers.

To speak of certain government and establishment institutions as "the system" is to speak correctly, since these organizations are founded upon the same structural relationships even when they have lost all other meaning and purpose. People arrive at a factory and perform a totally meaningless task from eight to five without question because the structure demands that it be that way. There's no villain, no "mean guy" who wants them to live meaningless lives, it's just that the structure, the system demands it and no one is willing to take on the formidable task of changing the structure just because it is meaningless.

But to tear down a factory or to revolt against a government or to avoid repair of a motorcycle because it is a system is to attack effects rather than causes; and as long as the attack is upon effects only, no change is possible. The true system, the real system, is our present construction of systematic thought itself . . . and if a factory is torn down but the rationality which produced it is left standing, then that rationality will simply produce another factory. . . . (p. 94)

Rogers, Vincent R., guest ed. *Educational Leadership: Journal of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development*. "Teachers Centers" issue. Vol. 33, no. 6 (March 1976). 77 pp. Single copy $2. Order from Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), 1701 K Street N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Edited by Vincent R. Rogers of University of Connecticut's Center for Open Education, this issue includes case studies of the Teachers' Active Learning Center, Oakland; Teacher Center, Inc., New Haven; Teacher Curriculum

Work Center, Chicago; Capbell County Teachers Center, Rustburg, Virginia; and The Center for Open Education, University of Connecticut, Storrs. In addition there are an editorial by Rogers, a review of American teachers' centers' origins, an analysis of British centers, a review of research on centers' effects, and a forecast for greater involvement by teachers in curriculum development ten years hence.

Sarason, Seymour B. *The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972. 295 pp. $12.95. Order from Jossey-Bass, Inc., 615 Montgomery Street, San Francisco, California 94111.

In a previous book, *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1971), Sarason, a Yale psychologist, reported on work in public elementary schools which convinced him that "the more things change the more they remain the same." This book is an analysis of why that is so. Defining a "setting" as "any instance when two or more people come together in new and sustained relationships to achieve certain goals" (p. 1), Sarason argues that despite their earnest intentions and alternative values, reform enterprises usually fail or gradually peter out because their core staffs do not deal with the crucial issues that result in conflict, boredom, and decline:

The basis and order of recruitment, problem-anticipating and problem-resolving vehicles, the myth of unlimited resources and an untroubled future, specialization of [staff] *function, competition . . . for resources and influence on the leader . . . and the ignoring or postponement of dealing with the crucial past and future . . . (p. 91)*

Sarason probes topics such as the need to confront the historical context from which a new enterprise arises, leadership, the formation of the core group, the inevitability of working with insufficient resources, and the necessity of valuing the staff's personal growth as the new organization's prime resource.

The factor which is ignored or deemphasized in the creation of a setting, specifically in the formation of the core group, consists of two ingredients: the professional and personal growth and change of its members, and the ways in which their mutuality can enhance this growth and change . . . In almost every instance of the creation of a setting I have observed, these factors have been quite secondary to the concern with what is provided for others outside the setting. And yet the greatest source of disillusionment and disruption within the setting is a consequence of having ignored or deemphasized these factors. To the extent that a setting becomes more and more focused on its relationships to the outside world, it increasingly loses sight of what it can or must do for its own members . . . "We cannot do for others, we cannot change others, until we learn how to do for and change ourselves" . . . (p. 86)

Sarason contends that the routinization, boredom, and demoralization he observed in long-tenured public school teachers is caused by the fallacy of conceiving of schools exclusively in terms of children's learning. Teachers can't be expected to maintain attitudes of challenge and high aspiration in school settings which provide no *adult* intellectual stimulation and demands.

The book is not exclusively or even primarily concerned with education. Public health and poverty agencies, university departments, marriages, communes, and revolutionary governments such as the American Constitutional Congress, are other subjects for analysis.

Schumacher, E.F. *Small Is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered.* New York: Harper & Row Perennial Library, 1975. 305 pp. $2.45.

The argument here is not simply for smallness but for enterprises appropriate in scale to their purposes and their material and human resources. The book is about energy – not only oil and coal but also people's labor, thought, and spiritual values – and about the organizations that deploy energy or waste it. The chapter entitled "The Greatest Resource – Education" is an attack on moral relativism and the devastating effects of the materialist and technologist ethos upon education and society. The chapter "Towards a Theory of Large-Scale Organisation" is a set of principles by which an enterprise can determine its proper scope and strike an effective balance between order and freedom, efficiency and entrepreneurship.

Development does not start with goods; it starts with people and their education, organisation, and discipline. Without these three, all resources remain latent, untapped, potential. . . . [But] *development cannot be an act of creation. . . it cannot be ordered, bought, comprehensively planned . . . it requires a process of evolution. Education does not "jump"; it is a gradual process of great subtlety. Organisation does not "jump"; it must gradually evolve to fit changing circumstances. And much the same goes for discipline. . . there can be a process of stretching – never a process of jumping . . . It follows from this that development is not primarily a problem for economists, least of all for economists whose expertise is founded on a crudely material philosophy. No doubt economists . . . have their usefulness at certain stages of development and for strictly circumscribed technical jobs, but only if the general guidelines of a development policy* to involve the entire population *are already firmly established. (pp. 168-169)*

Sergiovanni, Thomas J., ed. *Professional Supervision for Professional Teachers.* Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1975. 79 pp. $4.50. Stock number 611-75046. Order from

ESSAYS ON TEACHERS' CENTERS

Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1701 K Street N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Essays by Sergiovanni and University of Illinois colleagues Louis J. Rubin, Theodore Manolakes, and Ernest R. House. (A portion of Manolakes' "The Advisory System and Supervision" is reprinted in this book of essays.) Rubin's "The Case for Staff Development" is an argument for building a "professional growth system" on four cornerstones: "the teacher's sense of purpose, the teacher's perception of children, the teacher's knowledge of subject, the teacher's mastery of technique." House's "Beyond Accountability" reviews educators' unhappy experience with "simplistic," "neo-scientific," and business management-derived measures of teachers' performance. He maintains: "Our problem is not one of efficiency but one of direction. Where should we be going?" and advocates an evaluation system incorporating "multiple outcome data" (not pupils' tests!) from many different sources: classroom evidence and professional judgments. Sergiovanni's own contribution to this collection is called "Human Resources Supervision." It reviews and interprets employee motivational research in industry and in education, finding that "good feelings associated with responsibility lasted more than three times as long as achievement and recognition," which, in turn, are more powerful motivators than wages and working conditions. Sergiovanni recommends that supervisors of teachers try to increase teachers' responsibility—"ownership and influence" in the classroom; however, he cautions that attempts to do this will fail without clear understanding and agreement on values and without the supervisor's personal investment and help.

Thornbury, Robert, ed. *Teachers' Centres*. New York: Agathon Press, 1974. 169 pp. $6.95. Order from Schocken Books, 200 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10011.

Robert Thornbury, warden of Sherbrooke Teachers' Centre, London, and the wardens of four other English centers have written essays on their experience developing a new form of inservice education. They make clear that centers were started not as places to transmit training but as settings involving teachers in the implementation of new national curriculum projects, invention of local materials, and exchange of professional resources and personal fellowship. Besides tracing the origins of teachers' centers and speculating on their future, the essays describe program and staff jobs in centers serving London, a rural area, smaller cities and towns, and a center in a college of education.

The neutral democracy and the responsiveness of teachers' centres to the needs of teachers have radically transformed in-service education. They represent the complex, sometimes illogical, demands of real people. Centres have not had a captive audience – and teachers tend to vote with their feet. But how long will the teachers' centre tradition last in an era of compulsion by stealth, when

teachers become "entitled" to attend in-service courses and encouraged to use "subsidised" curriculum materials? . . . (Thornbury, "The Iceberg of Centralism—New Directions and Possibilities," p. 141)

Van Fleet, Alanson. "Teacher Centers in Florida: A Case Study." *School Review* 85,3 (May 1977): 412-424.

The Florida teacher centers established by the State Legislature in 1973 are collaborations by school districts, universities, and teacher organizations to provide preservice and inservice. This article by the program documentor analyzes their experience during 1974-75 in collaborative decision making, program development, and finance, and it discusses some of their problems in running programs.

The fact that institutions and individuals had to cooperate in ways new to them. . . resulted in problems of meeting deadlines, maintaining partnership arrangements, and organizational strain. Because teacher education centers were grafted onto existing institutions, reward systems became a crucial problem in sustaining participation. Problems of needs assessment and grass roots support arise from the fact that teacher centers were put into effect from the top down rather than growing out of local concerns and purposes. . . . (p. 421)

Anyone considering starting a teacher center under federal or state funding should read this essay.

Woodbury, Marda. *A Guide to Sources of Educational Information*. Washington, D.C.: Information Resources Press, 1976. 371 pp. $25.00. Order from: Information Resources Press, 2100 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

This book, a greatly expanded version of the *Guide to Educational Resources* also by Marda Woodbury, is an excellent desk reference for any educational researcher, school administrator, teacher, or librarian. It covers more than 700 sources of educational information: print (and some nonprint) reference sources; education libraries and information centers; organizations and government agencies; and special search or bibliographic services. In addition to discussing all major educational reference works, the book emphasizes lesser-known sources in education and covers topics such as computerized information, funding and foundations, educational legislation, state library services to educators, and sources of statistical information. Each chapter begins with an introductory essay and is followed by bibliographic citations and evaluative annotations. The scope is wide-ranging yet intelligently selective, current, and American in emphasis.

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